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Richmond, Va.

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Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM BOOTH."

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"LOWER BRANCH TREE, WILCOX Co., ALA., Nov. 7, 1860.

MR. P. RAHM,


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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
PHYSIOLOGISTS
Held at the University of California
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ART. I.—SOMERSET'S CASE.

More than four years before the declaration of American independence the seeds of the ultimate disruption of the United States were liberally sown. While British statesmen were goading the colonists into rebellion, British troops were announcing principles of public law destined to prove the prolific source of internal conflict and intestine discord in the then embryo republic. The abundant harvest of blood and death, which summons while we write nearly one million of armed men into the field of destiny, is the legitimate fruit of the baneful seed of judicial abolitionism. In June, 1772, Lord Mansfield, in announcing the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, upon the petition of a negro slave for the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, was unwittingly inaugurating a civil revolution, whose smothered fires, gathering strength in nearly a century of slumber, were to burst forth with intensest rage and desolating fury in our own midst and our own day.

The case of James Somerset is an apt illustration of the inconsistency and effrontery which has characterized the career of abolitionism from that day to this. At the very time when the royal veto was obstructing the repeatedly expressed will of the people of Virginia, and imposing on them against their wishes the institution of African slavery—when British merchants and British seamen, under the sanction and protection of British power, were peopling America with slaves, the Court of King's Bench gravely enunciated from Westminster Hall the invalidity of every title they were forcing the colonists to purchase, in the eye of that common law which formed the basis of the American as well as the British social system.

In 1769, a Mr. Stewart, resident in Virginia, visited England, carrying with him his negro slave, James Somerset, a native of Africa imported and sold in Virginia. He remained there some

two years, during all which time Somerset continued with him, until some time in the fall of 1771, when he ran off from his master. Upon recovering him, Mr. Stewart committed him to the custody of one Captain Knowles, then about to embark for Jamaica, for the purpose of transporting him thither. Thereupon some officious abolitionists applied to Lord Mansfield for a writ of habeas corpus. The writ was awarded, and Lord Mansfield adjourned the hearing until the next term of court, when the case was elaborately argued by some of the ablest members of the London bar. The court endeavored to evade a decision, and in a whining appeal for relief from the responsibility of determining a question upon which hung the tenure of £700,000 sterling of property, the status of 14,000 or 15,000 Africans then held as slaves in England, Lord Mansfield suggested a compromise out of court, or an application to Parliament. To await the result of the appeal, the case was permitted to lay over for another term. Mr. Stewart, it seems, declined to relieve the court of its embarrassment in either of the modes suggested, and a decision had to be made. Accordingly, at Trinity Term, on the 22d June, 1772, Lord Mansfield, as the organ of the court, pronounced judgment, discharging Somerset.

The case is reported in *Lofft's Rep.* 1, under the title of *Somerset vs. Stewart*, and though Lofft is a reporter of doubtful reputation, see the *Reporter*, by Wallace, p. 85, note, the opinion of the court, as he gives it, is adopted and republished, with the lengthy and ingenuous argument of Mr. Hargrave, one of the negro's counsel, as prepared by himself for publication, in 20 *Howell's State Trials*, 1. Mr. Hargrave's learned argument does not purport to conform strictly to what was said on the trial, and in its tendency is vastly more comprehensive than the judgment of the court. Lord Campbell in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, 2 vol., 320 (*Am. Ed.*), professes to give the decision of Lord Mansfield, but the report is materially different from that of Lofft, and utterly inconsistent with Lord Mansfield's own statement of its extent, in *Rex vs. Inhabitants of Thames Ditton*, 3 *Doug.*, 300 (26 *E. C. L. R.*, 367). Mr. Colt, the learned author of a valuable treatise, not yet concluded, upon the Law of Slavery, made an abortive effort to elicit some contemporary authority for the report of the biographer: but Lord Campbell's reply, in confessing his inability to refer to any printed authority, fails to relieve him from the very questionable attitude in which he placed himself before the professional public. 1 *Colt on St.*, 169, note.

We do not hold Lord Mansfield responsible for all the wild and extravagant dogmas which have been ascribed to him, either as *ipsissima verba* or legitimate deductions therefrom. His opinion, however, was sufficiently comprehensive to deny the authority of the master, under the common law, to hold and

enforce the service of his slave; and abolitionism has been abundantly justified in sheltering itself under the cover of his great name.

The judgment of the court in Somerset's case is altogether unworthy, however, of his deservedly high juridical reputation. Indeed, considering the magnitude of the question at issue, and the recognized ability of the bench, it is shamefully jejune and feeble. In twelve short lines, without attempting to develop the reasons which induced his conclusion, the court dogmatically announces the inconsistency of slavery with English law, and virtually emancipates fourteen thousand or fifteen thousand slaves. After reciting the facts, the return of the writ, etc., a preface of an octavo page and a half, the court proceeds: "So high an act of dominion must be recognized by the law of the country where it is used. The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political, but only positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion and time itself, from whence it was created, is erased from memory. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from a decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England, and, therefore, the black must be discharged."

We propose to do what Lord Mansfield did not: to examine this dogma by the light of reason and authority, of principle and history.

Lexicographers generally agree in deducing the words slave and slavery from the national appellation of the Slavonian tribe, "who at an early age made their appearance in the northeastern borders of Europe, pouring down on those countries from the middle regions of Asia. These hordes overspread the countries from the Black sea to the icy ocean, and in their turn were forced westward by similar hordes of Wends, Veneti, Antes, Goths and Huns. Thus attacked and pushed in the rear, they poured them upon the inhabitants of the more western regions, who, more warlike and with superior arms, put them to death by thousands. Thus fleeing from death, they meet it in front, until the nations then occupying the north and east of Europe, satiated and sickened by their slaughter, seized upon their persons as slaves and converted them into beasts of burden. Their numbers exceeding all possible use, the captors exported them as an article of traffic, and the Venetians being a commercial people, enriched themselves by the traffic for a number of years. All continental Europe was thus filled up by the race from the Adriatic to the Northern ocean. Thus, their national appellation became throughout Europe the significant term for a man in bondage; and although in their own language their name signified *fame and distinction*, yet in all the world beside it has superseded the Hebrew, the Greek and the Roman

terms to signify the condition of servitude. Thus, the Dutch and Belgians say *slaaf*; Germans, *slave*; Danes, *slave* and *slave*; Swedes, *slaf*; French, *esclave*. The Celtic French, etc., *sclaaf*; Italians, *schiaivo*; Spanish, *esclavo*; Portuguese, *escravo*; Gaelic, *sladhadh*; and the English, *slave*." *Fletcher's Studies on Slavery*, 381. Milman, in a note to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, tells us that, "The conversion of their national into an appellative name, appears to have arisen in the eighth century in the oriental France, where the bishops and princes were rich in Slavonian captives." 4 *Gibbon*, ch. lv.

Slaves were denominated by the ancient Romans *servi*, from the practice of their generals to sell their captives, and thus preserve (*seware*) and not slay them. They were also called *mancipia*, in that they were taken from the enemy by hand (*manu capti*). *Justinian's Ins.*, 1, 3, 3.

Few things are more difficult than an accurate definition of words, and this difficulty is readily recognized in the varied attempts to define slavery. Mr. Hargrave seems to have fully appreciated the difficulty; and, rejecting as insufficient and inaccurate the several definitions he quotes, endeavors to describe it by an enumeration of several of its usual incidents. The vice of the ordinary definitions of slavery consists in their restriction to the rights of the master to control and command, and the obligation of the slave to serve and obey—properties which are not peculiar to slavery: in the familiar relations of husband and wife and parent and child, properties of the same character exist—and if they are more extensive in slavery, it is merely because the law concedes them and not because they are essential to the institution. If the law limited the extent of the master's authority by the same measure which it metes out to the husband and father, it might produce a more benignant form of slavery, but it would be still slavery. The peculiar characteristic of slavery, which distinguishes it from all other social relations, seems to be generally ignored in all the efforts at definition. That is the idea of property attached to a person. Where the law recognizes in one man a right of property in another, subject to transfer as property at the pleasure of the one without reference to the will of the other, the relation between the two is accurately defined, in legal language, as that of master and slave, and the legal relation is not changed by any limitations which the law may impose upon the exercise of the master's authority. If we could imagine a state of society where law exists, and that law to impose no restraint upon the master's authority, but to concede to him "an absolute and unlimited power over the life and fortune of the slave," Sir Wm. Blackstone's idea of "pure and proper slavery" (1 *Black. Com.* 423,) would be realized. In that state of society the law would ignore the existence of the slave altogether as a *person*, and recognize him only as *property*. He

could owe to the community no obligation for the breach of which he could be civilly or criminally responsible. In all civilized countries, however, where slavery has existed, and we believe it has existed, at some period of their history, among every people, the slave has been regarded, to some extent, as a person, and, as such, has been subject to responsibility to the community for criminal acts, and guarantied by the community certain personal rights, even against his own master. In the most rigid form of slavery, the slave has a right to demand of his master necessary food and clothing, and in sickness, or imbecility from age, proper sustenance and support. It matters not, though the slave be denied a hearing in preferring his own complaint for a breach of these rights. The community places them upon a far higher ground when it undertakes to punish their breach as an offence against itself.

We are generally told that slavery is a violation of natural right, has its origin in force, and its only justification, if any, in the general consent of the world at some remote period in the past, when the ancestors of those now held in subjection were reduced into bondage. This prevalent opinion is expressed by Chief Justice Marshall in the case of the *Antelope* (10 *Wheaton*, 120), in the following terms: "That the slave-trade is contrary to the law of nature, will scarcely be denied; that every man has a natural right to the fruits of his own labor, is generally admitted; and that no other person can rightfully deprive him of those fruits and appropriate them against his will, seems to be the necessary result of this admission. But, from the earliest times war has existed, and war confers rights in which all have acquiesced. Among the most enlightened nations of antiquity, one of these was that the victor might enslave the vanquished. This, which was the usage of all, could not be pronounced repugnant to the law of nations, which is certainly to be tried by the test of general usage. That which has received the assent of all, must be the law of all. Slavery, then, has its origin in force; but as the world has agreed that it is the legitimate result of force, the state of things which is thus produced by general consent cannot be unlawful." We cannot yield assent to these principles, despite the high authority which endorses them. There is a necessary dependence upon and connection with others of his kind so essential to the existence of each individual man, that we may claim for him few if any rights absolutely. He is born the member of a household and the subject of a state. Upon the care and attention of others, he is dependent for the preservation of life and the developing and maturing of the faculties necessary to its enjoyment. He has no rights which begin and end in himself. He may not be a mere cumberer of the ground. As a member of society, there are obligations resting upon him from which he may not escape; and his rights are proportioned to those obligations.

He has not even an absolute right to his own life. The community of which he is a member may rightfully exact of him the sacrifice of that, even in the absence of crime. Surely, if there be a natural right it is the right to life. Yet, was it ever contended that natural right was violated when an imperilled state commanded from their homes the reluctant and the timorous to repel invasion from her soil? The responsibilities and the duties that devolve upon man vary necessarily with the circumstances in which he is placed. There are burthens which every individual of the species has to bear, and his natural rights, their character and extent, depend thereon. The God who made him "visits the iniquities of fathers upon children," and showeth mercy not only to the righteous, but to their seed after them. Are not children born into the world every day and every hour upon whom, through life, is to be entailed disease and suffering, the immediate and palpable consequence of the crime of their parents? Aye, more: are not the consequences of national guilt visited continually, even to the third and fourth generation, upon the innocent citizen? Human wisdom may cavil at the justice of God, but "His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts." Natural right is but an infidel synonyme for God-given right, and when in his providence he visits bondage or affliction upon any race, who shall say that wrong is done to every individual who is born unto the heritage?

In the *Institutes of Justinian*, lib. 1, tit. 3, Sec. 4, slaves are said to become such in three ways, viz: by birth when the mother is a slave, by captivity in war, and by the voluntary sale of himself as a slave by a freeman above the age of twenty, for the sake of sharing the price. Sir Wm. Blackstone, 1 *Com.*, 423, quoted by Mr. Hargrave in a note to his argument, contends that all three, as origins of the right of slavery, are built upon false foundations.

In respect to captives in war, "the conqueror, say the civil-ians, had a right to the life of the captive, and having spared that, has a right to deal with him as he pleases. But it is an untrue position, when taken generally that by the law of nature or of nations, a man may kill his enemy; he has only a right to kill him in particular cases; in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence; and it is plain this absolute necessity did not exist, since the victor did not actually kill him but made him prisoner. War is itself justifiable only on principles of self-preservation; and, therefore, it gives no other right over prisoners but merely to disable them from doing harm to us, by confining their persons; much less can it give a right to kill, torture, abuse, plunder, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since, therefore, the right of making slaves by captivity depends upon a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing the consequence drawn from it must fail also."

The reasoning here is insufficient. In the absence of any actual or asserted right by the law of nature or nations to kill the captives, may not the reduction of the whole race into slavery, or their absolute extermination be, under some circumstances, necessary to the security and peace of the enemy; and if so, is not the former alternative the wiser and the more humane? But, may not the right to kill or to enslave have been mutually conceded to two contending countries? We waive the moral question, and speak of the matter of fact. May not under such a compact slavery have been established, and perpetuated by descent after the light of civilization and Christianity has revealed to the contracting parties the crime, if there was any, of the original compact? But, by virtue of that compact, captives had been preserved, and the right of property fastened on them and their children. It might be conceded that the original enslaving was wrong; and it would still leave a burthen upon Sir Wm. Blackstone, to maintain the unlawfulness of the existing institution.

"It is said that slavery may begin *jure civili* when one man sells himself to another. This, if only meant of contracts to serve or work for another, is very just; but, when applied to strict slavery in the sense of the laws of old Rome or modern Barbary, is also impossible. Every sale implies a price, a *quid pro quo*—an equivalent given to the seller in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer; but what equivalent can be given for life and liberty, both of which (in absolute slavery) are held to be at the master's disposal? His property also, the very price he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master the instant he becomes his slave. In this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing and the seller receives nothing; of what validity, then, can a sale be which destroys the very principles upon which all sales are founded?" To which Mr. Locke adds another kind of argument, the substance of which is, that a right of preserving life is unalienable; that freedom from arbitrary power is essential to the exercise of that right; and, therefore, no man can by compact enslave himself. *Locke on Gov., lib. 2, ch. 4.* A still further objection is urged to slavery by compact: that, conceding a man's right to enslave himself, he has no right to enslave his children. To this we reply, that it presents no moral difficulty. The parent is the natural guardian of the child, and from the position he occupies must, in a great measure, necessarily influence its destiny in life. The laws of Providence expose it to the consequences of his acts, and the laws of all human societies authorize him to exercise an almost absolute control at that very period in which the career for good or ill is well-nigh invariably shaped.

So far as the objections of Blackstone are cited, there is one conclusive reply. The law and common sense recognize executory contracts, and such is the contract in question. The con-

sideration upon the one side, is perpetual service; upon the other, perpetual support and sustenance for himself and his little ones. Would a dispassionate observer of the condition of the operatives in many European manufacturing establishments reckon such a contract a uniformly unwise one upon the part of the slave? In reference to the power of the master over life, that we have shown is not a necessary element of the contract. The right to preserve life may be inalienable, and any assault upon that might be rightfully resisted in spite of any engagement, though the possibility of such assault might not invalidate the contract. But, might not an operative, dependent for life upon the scanty earnings of his own hands, and unable to obtain employment, with the immediate prospect of death by starvation staring him in the face, wisely judge it well to purchase exemption from immediate dissolution by submitting himself to the power of a master, whose known benevolence afforded a better guarantee against violence and cruelty than any legal restraint could ensure?

"Lastly, we are told that, besides these two ways by which slaves '*fiunt*' or are acquired, they may also be hereditary '*seur nascuatur*;' the children of acquired slaves are *jure naturæ*, by a negative kind of birthright, slaves also. But this being built on two former rights, must fall together with them. If neither captivity nor the sale of one's self can by the law of nature and reason reduce the parent to slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring." The author has not fairly represented the argument upon which hereditary slavery is justified. The right to enslave the child need not be attributed to the power over the parent, acquired by the adverse fortune of war, or his voluntary compact. If so, it might extend to children who had attained adult age prior to the loss of liberty by the parent. There is a much more imposing consideration which controls the destiny of the child than any act of his parent. If life be esteemed of more value than liberty—and the mass of mankind certainly so regard it—the hereditary bondman may well be content to compensate, with his service, the master to whose tender care and bounty he is indebted for the preservation of life itself. Infancy and childhood exact attention and sustenance from others, and that attention and sustenance constitute a valuable consideration, upon which the obligation to repay may well be based. It will not do to say that slavery is a compensation ill-proportioned to the original expenditure, for the opponents of slavery are accustomed to contend that the institution is unprofitable to the slave-holder. Be that as it may, the benefit to the slave is more than proportioned to the price at which he purchases it. "Give me liberty or give me death," is the honest sentiment of comparatively few. The humblest slave who toils beneath the burning sun of the tropics, and the convict condemned to perpetual isolation from his

species, and the degrading bondage of a life-long imprisonment, cling to life as instinctively and tenaciously as the most favored child of fortune.

The original wrong to the parent in enslaving her, if conceded, may not necessarily alter the obligations of the child to the protector of its infancy and the preserver of its life: for the parent, though wrongfully enslaved in the first instance, may devolve upon an innocent master, at a time or under circumstances when the withdrawal of the protection of slavery at any subsequent period would be unavoidably disastrous. It is the misfortune of the child, then, to be born of parents who cannot fulfil the obligations they have incurred. The gift of life by its creator is accompanied by conditions which render its continuance and the enjoyment of liberty altogether incompatible.

It cannot be maintained that out of the consequences of a wrongful act rightful obligations may never arise. The immorality of privateering may be conceded, and yet the absolute right of property in the innocent and ignorant purchaser for value of the prize may not be called in question. My neighbor may have his property stolen from him, he may incur a rightful obligation to recompense me for replacing it. If it be a living animal and be left upon my premises, and I am necessarily subjected to expense in maintaining it before I discover the owner, he may not reclaim it until he has satisfied me all charges.

Writers who sustain the view we have been considering, class as the highest natural right the right to life. Is there not an inconsistency in assuming that a relation tending to secure and preserve that as inconsistent with another natural right. The carefully compiled statistics of slave-holding countries, establish the fact that the ratio of increase among slaves exceeds that among free laborers. The number of births is greater; the number of deaths in infancy and childhood is smaller. There must, surely, be some error in the reasoning which imputes to an institution—the effect of which is to preserve life and increase his species—a violation of the God-given rights of man.

Dr. Barnes, of Philadelphia, deduces an argument against the maintenance of slavery by the South, from the fact of the rapid increase of the slave population. He says: "The whites were to the slaves—

	In 1790.	In 1840.
North Carolina.....	2.80 to 1.....	1.97 to 1
South Carolina.....	1.31 to 1.....	79 to 1
Georgia.....	1.76 to 1.....	1.44 to 1
Tennessee.....	13.35 to 1.....	3.49 to 1
Kentucky.....	5.16 to 1.....	3.23 to 1

"From this it is apparent that, in spite of all the oppressions and cruelties of slavery, of all the sales that are effected, of all

the removals to Liberia, and of all the removals by the escape of the slaves, there is a regular gain of the slave population over the free in the slave-holding States. No oppression prevents it here more than it did in Egypt, and there can be no doubt whatever that, unless slavery shall be arrested in some way, the increase is so certain that the period is not far distant when, in all the slave states, the free whites will be far in the minority. At the first census taken in 1790, in every slave state there was a very large majority of whites. At the last census, in 1840, the slaves outnumbered the whites in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana. The tendency of this, from causes which it would be easy to state, can be arrested by nothing but emancipation."—*Barnes on Slavery, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 95.*

The foreign slave trade was suppressed in 1810, and since that date the increase of slaves in the United States has been purely a natural one. Texas was annexed in 1844, and in 1850 her slave population numbered 58,161. Perhaps some little deduction should be made on this account, but it is well known that a vast majority of the slaves held in the Republic of Texas were emigrants from the southern United States. We will allow, however, more than one-half, say 30,000, to cover her importations from other sources. In 1810, the slave population of the United States was 1,191,364; in 1850, 3,204,313. Increase in forty years, 2,012,949; or, allowing for Texas, 1,982,949—a ratio of more than 166 per cent. In the same time, the free negro population has increased from 186,446 to 434,495—248,049—a ratio of more than 133 per cent. Notwithstanding the accretion of the latter class, at the expense of the former, the increase is much less. In the same time, the white population has increased from 5,862,004 to 19,553,068—an accession of 13,691,064 (a large portion of which was due to foreign emigration)—a ratio of 233 per cent. From 1840 to 1850, the slave population increased from 2,487,455 to 3,204,313, an accession of 716,858—and deducting 30,000 for Texas, we have, as the natural increase of ten years, 686,858, or 27.61 per cent. During the same decade, the free negroes increased less than half as rapidly, i. e., 12.47 per cent.—from 386,303 to 434,495. The white population increased in the same decade from 14,195,695 to 19,553,068—5,357,373. The number of passengers arriving during the same decade from abroad were 1,397,350. The number who returned could scarcely exceed, we suppose, the additions derived from Texas, California, etc., and of emigrants failing to register themselves. Deducting this number from the decennial increase, the natural increase of white Americans appears to be 3,960,023—a ratio of 27.89 per cent.—a fraction greater than the slave increase.

Massachusetts is generally commended as a model for the imitation of the Southern states, and the pseudo philanthropy of abolition pervades, perhaps, more extensively her people than

those of any of her sister states. We have taken some trouble to make an examination and calculation from the census of 1850, not having access to that of 1860, comparing the relative number of births and deaths, and consequent rate of natural increase among her entire white population, with that of the slaves of the South. We take the whole slave population of the United States into consideration in one view, and that of the States of Virginia and Mississippi severally, as representatives of the border and Gulf states:

	FREE POPULATION.		SLAVE POPULATION.		
	U. S.	Mass.	Unit. St.	Virga.	Miss.
Population.....	19,987,573	994,504.....	3,204,287	472,528	309,878
Births.....		23,192....	80,609	11,155	7,399
Deaths.....	272,929	19,404....	52,504	8,451	5,347
Ann. Increase.....		3,788....	28,105	2,704	2,052
Dec. Increase.....		37,880....	281,050	27,040	20,520
Rat. of Dec. Increase..		3.81 p.e.....	8.77 p.e.	5.72 p.e.	6.62 p.e.
Rat. of Deaths to Births		83.66 p.e.....	65.13 p.e.	74.86 p.e.	72.26 p.e.
Rat. of Deaths to Pop'n	136 p.e.	1.95 p.e.....	1.63 p.e.	1.78 p.e.	1.72 p.e.
Rat. of Births to Pop'n		2.33 p.e.....	2.51 p.e.	2.36 p.e.	2.38 p.e.

It thus appears that, while the ratio of births is nearly equal, an immense disproportion exists in regard to deaths—making the ratio of natural increase of the entire white population of Massachusetts less than half that existing among the slaves of the South. If we could compare the statistics of her laboring class, we would find the disproportion of course much greater; and still more perceptible would be a contrast of the slave and free negro statistics. These figures indicate very clearly that the great natural right of life is certainly not imperilled seriously by a loss of liberty on the part of the negro.

Captivity in war has been most generally assigned as the origin of the institution, but its existence ante-dating legislation, the problem has been one prolific rather of curious speculation than susceptible of any satisfactory solution: Lord Coke says: "*Fiunt etiam servi liberi homines captivitate de jure gentium*, and not by the law of nature, as from the time of Noah's flood forward, in which time all things were common to all, and free to all men alike, and lived under the law natural; and, by multiplication of people, and making proper and private those things which were common, arose battles. And then it was ordained by constitution of nations (i. e., by the tacit consent of civilized nations), that none should kill another, but that he that was taken in battle should remain bond to his taker for ever, and to do with him and all that should come of him his will and pleasure, as with his beast, or any other chattel, to give or to sell or to kill; and, after it was ordained for the cruelty of some lords that none should kill them, and that the life and members of them as well as of freemen were in the hands and protection of kings, and that he that killed his villain should have the same judgment as if he had killed a freeman.—1 *Tho. Co. Litt.*, 403.

Mitford, in his *History of Greece*, ascribes the origin of slavery to the same cause, and commends it as a beneficent improvement upon former customs. "When warlike people, emerging from the savage state, first set about agriculture, the idea of sparing the lives of prisoners, on condition of their becoming useful to the conquerors by labor, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death—not from a spirit of cruelty but from necessity, for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not set them free. Slavery thus established, it is easy to conceive how it would increase. In infant societies labor cannot be hired, because all can employ themselves in their own concerns."—1 *Mitf. Greece*, 317, *ch. vi, sec. 4*.

It is quite as natural and probable, however, to suppose that the relation of master and slave was, in the early ages of the world, established by mutual consent. The surrender of nominal liberty by the weak and delicate for the protection of the strong and powerful, in an age when brute force was the universal measure of individual right, would not seem to have been necessarily an unwise exercise of discretion. Sir Archibald Alison thinks it would not. "The universality of slavery in the early ages of mankind," he regards as "a certain indication that it is unavoidable, from the circumstances in which the human race is everywhere placed in the first stages of society. Where capital is unknown, property insecure, and violence universal, there is no security for the lower classes but in the protection of their superiors; and the sole condition on which that can be obtained is that of slavery. Property in the person and labor of the poor is the only inducement which can be held out to the opulent to take them under their protection. Compulsion is the only power which can render labor general in the many ages which must precede the influence of the artificial wants, or a general taste for its fruits. Humanity, justice and policy, so powerful in civilized ages, are then unknown, and the sufferings of the destitute are as much disregarded as those of the lower animals. If they belonged to no lord, they would speedily fall a prey to famine or violence. How miserable soever the condition of slaves may be in those unruly times, they are incomparably better off than they would have been if they had incurred the destitution of freedom."—1 *Alison's Europe—Introduction*, 20.

In more enlightened ages, the condition of the laboring classes has been such as to induce in many the desire to enslave themselves. So many applications were submitted to the legislatures of the Southern states by free negroes for permission to return to slavery, that in some of the states a general act has been passed prescribing the forms necessary to be followed, in order for a free negro to obtain the authority from

court to enslave himself; and instances of voluntary enslavement, under the operation of this law, are of frequent occurrence. Reference to the Virginia statute Sess. Acts, 1855-6, p. 37, ch. 46, will show that every precaution is adopted to secure the deliberate and well-considered election of the negro.

Hume tells us that the practice of selling themselves and children was always the practice among the old Germans, and was continued by the Anglo-Saxons (1 *Hume*, App. 1, p. 163); and Dr. Lingard recites, as one of the sources of Anglo-Saxon slavery, the voluntary enslavement of free born Saxons to escape the horrors of want. 1 *Lingard*, 235, ch. vi.

Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall*, says that "the subjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their personal freedom; and this act of legal suicide, which was familiarly practised, is expressed in terms most disgraceful and afflicting to the dignity of human nature. The example of the poor who purchased life by the sacrifice of all that can render life desirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public disorder, pusillanimously crowded to shelter themselves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the shrine of a popular saint. Their submission was accepted by these temporal or spiritual patrons; and the hasty transaction irrecoverably fixed their own condition and that of their latest posterity." 2 *Gibbon*, 426, chap. xxxviii.

The commonly accepted views upon this subject have been boldly and philosophically assailed by Mr. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, in a recent work entitled "Sociology for the South." "It is true," he says, "that ancient peoples made slaves of the vanquished, but it is also true that in all instances we find slavery pre-existing in both the conquering and conquered nation. The word 'servus' is said to derive its origin from the fact that prisoners of war, who were made slaves, were saved or preserved from death thereby; their lives being, according to the law of nations, as then understood, forfeited to the victor. The Chinese every day sell themselves to each other to 'save or preserve' themselves from want, hunger and death. Such instances, no doubt, were of daily occurrence in all ancient societies, and the word 'servus' may have as well originated from this social practice as from the practices of war. We do not think history will sustain the theory that, even in the case of war, it was the mere saving of life that originated the term. Conquerors in feudal times we know, and probably in all times, parcelled out the conquered territory, both the lands and the people, to inferior chieftains, whose interest and duty it became to preserve lands, fruits, crops, houses and inhabitants, from the cruel rapine, waste, pillage and oppression of the common soldiers. It is the interest of victors not to destroy what they have vanquished; and history shows that their usages have conformed to their interests. We deem this definition of the origin

of slavery by war more consistent with history and humanity than the usual one that the mere life of the prisoner was saved—hence he was called 'servus.'" P. 100.

But whatever may have been the origin of the institution, it is universally conceded to have had existence in very remote antiquity. Lord Coke assumes it to have existed in the person of Canaan, the son of Ham (1 *Tho. Co. Litt.*, 404); but this is not very apparent from the Mosaic record. The curse pronounced upon Canaan, in *Genesis ix*, 25-27, may have been generic, not personal, and need not have been fulfilled for many years subsequent to his death. But there seems no reasonable ground to doubt that the institution existed in the days and in the household of Abraham. See *Genesis xii*, 5, 16.

The existence of slavery among the Hebrews is apparent throughout the whole Biblical record, from the days of Moses to those of our Saviour. See *Matthew xxvi*, 51. "Behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand and drew his sword, and struck the servant (*δουλον*) of the high priest." Also *Matt. vii*, 5-14; *Luke vii*, 2-10; *xix*, 12-16, etc., etc. *Fletcher on Slavery*, 117-172. Dr. Cooper, in his notes upon Justinian, says: "Slavery among the Jews took place

"1. When a man sold himself through poverty. *Lev. xxv*, 39.

"2. When a father sold his children. *Ex. xxi*, 7.

"3. When creditors seized and sold their insolvent debtors or their children. *2 Kings iv*, 1.

"4. A thief was sold when he could not pay his fine. *Ex. xxii*, 3, 4.

"5. Prisoners of war.

"6. A Hebrew slave ransomed from a Gentile might be sold to another Hebrew by his master.

"But the Hebrews were slaves to the Hebrews only for six years, or until the Sabbatical Jubilee. *Ex. xxi*, 2. If the slave married, however, he could not take away with him his wife and children, which belonged to the master. *Ex. xxi*, 4. If, from attachment to the family, the slave refused to be freed at the end of six years, or at the Sabbatical Jubilee, then his master might bore his ears with an awl before the magistrate, and the slave became bound for life. The Hebrew slaves were treated more as hired servants by the Jews. Not so the bondmen procured from among the heathen. But even from the heathen, they were forbidden to acquire a slave by stealth. See *Leviticus xxi* and *xxv*."—*Cooper's Just.*, 410.

No authority is given for the declaration that prisoners of war were reduced into slavery, and the position has been denied. See, however, for abundant confirmation, *Numbers xxxi*, and *Deut. xx*, 10-16, compared with *xxi*, 10-15, as cited in *Fletcher on Slavery*, 121-125.

The rule of the civil law, that the children inherited the status of the mother and not of the father, would seem to have prevailed among the Hebrews. *Ex. xxi*, 4.

These references establish that the Pentateuch recognized each of the three several sources of slavery recited in Justinian as legitimate means by which the Hebrews might acquire property in slaves.

The idea suggested by the Bishop of St. Asaph's, that there was really no hereditary slavery for life among the Hebrews, because at the year of jubilee all slaves were emancipated, is sufficiently answered by a perusal of the 25th chapter of Leviticus—especially verses 39–46 inclusive. The year of jubilee was the year of emancipation for all Hebrews held as slaves; but the heathen captives held as slaves enjoyed no such privilege. The Hebrews were not, it is true, permitted to enslave their own brethren “as bondmen for ever,” but there was abundant warrant to make hereditary bondmen of the heathen. “They might purchase bondmen of the heathen nations that were round about them, or of those strangers that sojourned among them (excepting of those seven nations that were to be destroyed), and might claim a dominion over them, and entail them upon their families as an inheritance, for the year of jubilee should give no discharge to them.” *Henry's Commentary Leviticus, ch. 25, v. 44–46.*

We find mention of slavery as an extensively existing institution, in the earliest records of Grecian history. Mitford tells us that “tradition in Herodotus' age preserved memory of the time when slavery was unknown in Greece: but before Homer, slaves were very numerous.”—1 *Mitford's History of Greece, ch. 6, sec. 4, p. 317.* Chancellor Kent mentions that “a vast majority of the people of ancient Greece were in a state of absolute and severe slavery;” and upon the authority of Mitford, 1 *vol. p. 316*, adds that at one period in the history of Athens, “the disproportion between freemen and slaves was nearly in the ratio of 30,000 to 400,000.” 2 *Kent's Com., 249.*

“Slavery was not only established by law, but held indispensable in every Grecian republic; but in the several republics the condition of slaves varied. The most remarkable difference, and the most important and yet the least noticed among ancient and modern writers, is “that in some of them the slaves were purchased barbarians—in some they were morally the descendants of subdued Greeks. All the Lacedæmonian slaves appear to have been of the latter kind. There are different accounts of the origin of those miserable men, who were distinguished from all other slaves by name as by condition. The most received is that Helos, whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependance of Lacedæmon, is not agreed—being taken by Soüs, son of Procles. The inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery, and were dispersed in such numbers over Laconia that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slave. It appears, however, probable that the Lacedæmonians, as perhaps

all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had slaves of Grecian race before the reign of Soüs: and we know that after it they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state." 1 *Mitford's Greece*, chap. 5, sec. 2, p. 247.

Slavery among the Romans, to a late period in their history, appeared in the severest form. The repeated successes which attended their warfare upon surrounding barbarians, placed continually in their power innumerable captives, who were, according to the then universally recognized laws of war, reduced into slavery. Being, for the most part, active, robust and warlike men, self-protection required upon the part of the master unsleeping vigilance, accompanied by the legal authority to punish with instant severity. To this cause, doubtless, may be ascribed the harshness of Roman slavery, especially the jurisdiction of life and death, which was unquestionably accorded to the master up to the time of Claudius, the successor of Caligula (1 *Gibbon*, ch. 11, p. 25), when, probably, all the slaves then in the empire had been tutored into unresisting submission through generations of bondage. Dr. Taylor in *El. Civ. Law*, 429, cited in *Cooper's Just.*, 411, says: "They had no head in the state; no name, title or register; they were not capable of being injured; nor could they take by purchase or descent; they had no heirs, and, therefore, could make no will; exclusive of what was called their peculium, whatever they acquired was their masters'; they could not plead nor be pleaded for, but were excluded from all civil concerns whatever; they could not claim the indulgence of absence *respublica causa*; they were not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony, and, therefore, had no relief in case of adultery; nor were they proper objects of cognation or affinity, but of quasi-cognition only; they could be sold, transferred or pawned as goods or personal estate, for goods they were, and as such were esteemed; they might be tortured for evidence, punished at discretion of their lord, or even put to death by his authority; together with many other civil incapacities, which I have not room to enumerate."

Of the rigor of the laws and the severity with which they were executed, we are furnished with a striking illustration in one of Cicero's orations against Verres. It seems that there was an edict in Sicily, promulgated by an early prætor, that no slave should ever be seen with a weapon. When Lucius Donutius was prætor an immense boar was slain, and brought to him. Upon enquiry, he learned that it had been slain by a slave, and immediately had him summoned into his presence. Upon the appearance of the slave, in reply to the question of the prætor, he stated that he had killed the animal with a hunting-spear. Whereupon, he was ordered to be crucified, and the order was instantly executed. "This may appear harsh," said the orator; "I say nothing either way. All that I understand

from the story is, that Donutius preferred to appear cruel in punishing to seeming negligent in overlooking offences."

The Roman slaves were not, however, confined to the menial occupations of life. Many of them were educated expensively, and instructed in the arts and sciences. We are told that not a few of the physicians were slaves, and that almost every profession, either liberal or mechanical, numbered slaves among them. 1 *Gibbon, ch. ii., p. 26.*

ART. II.—SOUTHERN SOCIETY AND BRITISH CRITICS.

The following remarks were written many years ago. Time has confirmed their truth, and is about to vindicate the character of the social institutions they defended. When this essay was first penned, socialism was intriguing in France for new revolutions, that that beautiful land might once more be made a slaughter-house of all that was good, noble and intellectual, and that the base, like the Greeks, might apotheosize their unnatural envy into a sort of Nemesis, and who would ostracize virtue, manners and education. In England, the apostolic lights of Exeter Hall were burning with an ominous glare, that indicated a social explosion among the nations. A specious philanthropy that made treason a virtue and patriotism a crime, was fashionable in the most elegant circles of England. Young ladies wept over the imaginary wrongs of the slave; the poets vindicated their woes in verse and music, and politicians found a new and profitable subject for Phillipic eloquence. Members of an English Parliament so forgot their dignity as to cross the Atlantic, and pander to the morbid fancies of unreasonable fanatics. English authors so forgot their glory as to prostitute their genius in instigating those who were once our brothers to the wholesale murder of a chivalrous nation, in that dastardly manner where sleep, and night, and unvigilant innocence, took away the opportunity for resistance. The tide of emancipation ran high. The nations of the earth seemed banded in one fanatic crusade against our liberties, and Southern patience and forbearance, and devotion to the constitution her own fathers made, and her noblest son so pathetically exhorted her to maintain, were stigmatized as but the evidences of cowardice and the effeminacy of corrupt voluptuaries. The tide ran high, and buoyed into a magic popularity the worthless ravings of a Mrs. Stowe—a malignant spy, who hunted amidst the hospitalities of Southern homes for the materials of which she formed her hideous fiction. On that tide of sympathy, Mr. Dickens floated in Northern society.

There has been no greater source of ill-feeling or of deeper

regret than the silly habit of trans-Atlantic authors, easing their spleen by unjust criticisms on our social institutions. Our statesmen have been laughed at because they were not dancing-masters as well as diplomats; our authors have been ridiculed because they were too timid, too awkward, or too conscientious to turn a pretty compliment to please a lady of fashion and set the parlor in a laugh. Our ministers have been termed ascetic, because they wear white cravats and refuse to guzzle wine and corrode their stomachs with dyspeptic viands at midnight suppers. Our institution of slavery, the most humane system by which bigoted ignorance was ever restrained from destroying the liberties it was unfit to enjoy, and the only one by which the heathen could be effectually civilized—the very granite base of modern commercial prosperity—is satirized, not with wit, but the most malignant slander that fanaticism could forge. On the other hand, there has been much recrimination that might have been spared. It is our duty to look on the censure of foreign peoples as arising (as it does) from a narrow-minded envy and jealousy, to say nothing of the political reasons. No weapon is so effective in warding off malicious attacks as a reserved silence and cold dignity. Mr. Dickens is the most important enemy that has abused us. He has hardly honored himself or enhanced his fame by the unjust assault he has made on our people. His "Notes" are certainly most unfavorable records of his temper; and the gross insult he put upon the people who entertained him with such hospitality, is hardly a fair requital of their kindness.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to the idea that it is becoming a gentleman to criticise either the manners or entertainment of a host, especially where that host has exercised all the ingenuity and courtesy of his nature to please. Mr. Dickens makes comparisons (of course unfavorable to us) between the higher classes of English society and the higher classes of America; and seems much put out because he does not meet a foppish cockney or royal dandy in every stage-driver, in every hotel-keeper, in every author and senator whom he met. But Mr. Dickens should have remembered that he was in a republic, and that dancing and bowing, smiling, and uttering pretty compliments, though graceful accomplishments, are not so professional as in Europe. Perhaps, if you give our countrymen entailed estates, yielding kingly incomes, their descendants, having nothing to do, might, in the course of time, so degenerate as to be born with natural instincts like the setter, with a passion for gaming and drinking, and for kids, jewelry, and gold lace, that would rob the other sex of one of their most becoming and immemorial prerogatives. We might have "emperor fountains," hurling their waters so high as to be dangerous to play them in airy weather, and too troublesome then unless a king was about. We might have our tropics under glass, and ride

in a coach and four, bowling along the smooth avenues of palms and bananas; but, as we have no entailments, the realities of England must at present be the ideals of America. Aggregated capital will some day make all those things for the common pleasure. The youth of an American is generally passed in toilsome independence and manly virtue, in a home blessed with piety and filial affection, which is not lessened by that hateful envy and covetousness engendered among the younger members of a family by the cruel law of primogeniture. The morning of this life is spent in cheerful labor; their manhood in the ease of wealth and dignity of honor that the applause of an approving country confers. His hands may be rough, his motions angular, his conversation common-place—but a sincere nature and generous heart redeems his deficiencies. "But the church!" "Aye, the church!" You have no established ministry in America. Your clergymen are mostly dissenters, and they have stained the white holiness of the church with the spatter from the political slough. A portion of the charge is true, but is only another evidence of our author's indirection. The fault charged attached solely to his friends and sympathizers at the North. It is certainly true, that we have no fat, lazy bishops, in ridiculous little red caps, like the head-dresses of dancing girls, and with long gowns and robes, more becoming the pomp of a theatrical than a religious character. We have no deacons and rectors and archbishops, enjoying fine salaries that were extorted from a poor congregation. We hate socialism, but we hate no less a parasitical aristocracy that saps a nation of all vitality, and priestly caste who in the morning denounce the theatres and the iniquities of the world, and go to see the "School for Scandal" at night. Although we are not faultless, we thank Heaven we are free from this expensive pomp of a privileged order. The money our people distribute among their ministers for charitable purposes is not a tribute of force, but the measure of the interest they feel in the advancement of Christianity. They are sincere in their religious professions, and manage to worship God and enjoy life without resorting to gaming tables or theatres.

Mr. Dickens is one of the leaders of an aspiring class of fanatics, that infests both England and America. The home portion of these imitate everything of an English appearance, with a notion that by assuming the style and costume of lords they become lords. We do not object to copying the good and beautiful of British life: for in no country has civilization reached such a perfection, if we except the single item—form of government. But Northern men have, unfortunately, mimicked the bad as well as the good. The cut of his lordship's coat, the curl of the noble locks, the dramatic position milord falls into when surprised, his nonchalance and dandyism, are all elaborately copied. We imagine Mr. Dickens and his compeers

are thoroughly versed in the art of turning up their noses at things better than their's, and persons far their superiors. We have no doubt he is accomplished in the expression of fashionable apathy, in the arrangement of his hair in the classical shape and that best exhibits the intellectuale of the head, and in those minor details of dress that set off the fine points of form and hides awkwardness. At least, report makes him a hero in the practice of the toilet and in the art of manners. These, too, we could not object to, if there was enough abandon to convince one that there was some honest naturalness and no affectation.

This class, of which we speak, are distinguished for a profound ignorance of certain things of which they have a political horror, and their prejudices are impenetrable to conviction. They assume, with all the dignity and authority of an oracle, that Southern men are cruel and slovenly, filthy in domestic life, awkward in society, coarse in conversation, understanding nothing, and wishing to understand nothing but how to lash a weeping slave, or to teach childhood's innocent lips to lisp curses against its nurses in its earliest speech. "Yes!" exclaims Mr. Dickens, "mothers silence the cry of their children by making whips to lash young negroes. Masters, enraged with wine, lop off the ears and noses of negroes, and handcuff them with huge chains." But, most wonderful of all, the slaves run away with these iron attachments, and the master advertises such a slave, "with an iron yoke around his head or an iron fetter on his foot." To read this we imagine we are perusing a description of Roman or Spartan slavery, where humanity to an inferior was considered unmanly. Criminals are treated this way in all countries, as they deserve to be, but to say this is the usual manner of using Southern slaves is untrue. Mr. Dickens is guilty, in the above quotation, either of distorting facts for the purpose of slander, of an out and out falsehood, or has been most mercilessly imposed on by Southern wags. If none of these, his vanity has led him to be witty and into misrepresentation at the expense of principle. We would hardly wish to charge him with the two first; for we believe an honest and humane heart lies beneath the crust of vanity and dandyism that hides the man. If credulity is the reason, we only lament that so much genius should possess so much weakness. If the last accusation holds, it is painful to see how a great intellect and noble heart can be debased by a passion for making sensations. What appearance of truth would Mr. Dickens perceive in the following paraphrase of his language: "English mothers silence the cry of their babies by dosing them with sufficient quantities of alum to contract the vocal organs and preclude a natural utterance." The consequence of this is, a faint, smothered scream is heard beneath their clothes, the voice being turned the wrong way. This, however, is

always remedied by a summary spanking. The older boys are immediately silenced by exclaiming: "Bonaparte is coming!" "English lords, enraged with wine, carve off the ears and noses of their servants, and frequently murder them to have a philosophical contemplation of their dying agonies. It gives them a fine opportunity to study the 'curious appearances' of the last moments, thereby enriching science with new discoveries. Servants are always compelled to kneel or hide themselves when his lordship passes. A sight that made my blood boil with all manner of indignation, was to see a poor fellow jump out of a window from an entry where there was no room to kneel. Instead of hiding himself, he drowned himself by falling into a horse-pond. The young lords also hurl dinner-plates of gold, studded with jewels, and bottles of wine, at the heads of their servants, when there is a ridiculous scramble for the pearls and rubies among those who do not get broken crowns. Meanwhile, the young lords roll in ecstasies of laughter at the sight, and clap their hands, and cry: 'Bully! Dem foinny, Tom!' Besides this, I have seen the Prince of Wales pour hot gravy in the Lord Chamberlain's bosom and his other servants', and yet the servants never run away; because, without the recommendation of a prince or lord, they would starve. Besides this, puerile displays of passion are considered indispensable to an accomplished gentleman." This picture is partly true in individual cases, and quite as susceptible of proof as the other. But both are sufficiently absurd, and should hardly emanate as anything serious from the most childish and petulant old woman.

In regard to American society, notwithstanding the rough manner in which our youth are generally brought up, the most polished ladies and gentlemen this side of the Atlantic reside in the Southern states; and, on an average, there is more classical education and more courtly cultivation in Southern than in Northern society. Working worse than slaves in factories, from childhood to maturity, is hardly the proper means by which to develop the graces of either body or character. We do not censure the operatives for this, but the hypocritical masters who wish to reform—but to reform at other people's expense, and afar off, and are too mean to be liberal to the wretched class of persons they employ.

The Southern lady or gentleman born in wealth, and always on terms of intimacy with the learned and distinguished, is quite as polished in all that relates to society, and quite as chaste in all that relates to domestic life as any prince or any queen in Europe. Poor or wealthy, if intelligent, they are welcomed in the best society, and enjoy all the opportunities of refinement. Besides, grace, beauty, vivacity and courtesy are indigenous in a southern climate, just as the rich plumage of tropical birds or the splendid flowers and fragrance of tropical

woods. Mr. Dickens must have fallen in with the flash population and city rowdies, and not with the polished, hospitable and intellectual society, for which the South has been justly distinguished since the days of seventy-six. Such slanders should be spared against a people who have furnished pretty much all the orators and statesmen of which the United States could boast, and nearly all the military chiefs that made that nation respected and celebrated. We hardly think that New England or New York would have successfully asserted their independence without the aid of Southern courage and intellect. The last sentence of Mr. Dickens' statement is absurd, and vitiates all that precedes. The fetters and iron yokes are represented as marks through which a slave is recognized when he runs away, and are used for the purpose of preventing any escapes. This hardly requires an answer.

It must be a stolid master who imagines that a slave is ignorant of the existence of files, or how they should be applied. We might quote numerous examples of absurd and malignant statements, but we forbear to expose more than is necessary of the weakness that sullies so much genius. We are indifferent as to what opinion other people may have of the social or political bearing of our institutions, but we *do* demand that facts themselves shall be truthfully told. We are only sorry that Mr. Dickens has allowed himself—innocently or otherwise—to write falsehoods, which outrage decency, and which, we fear, are destined to hand him down to posterity as one who wrote more for money and popularity than for fame or civilization. He has written too much to make his name immortal; he has written too falsely, in many instances, to benefit mankind.

The English novelist, unfortunately, fell in with a clique of toadies and professional philanthropists, who make a profitable trade by simulating the noblest of virtues—the love of man—and who are always prepared to furnish anti-slavery meetings to order with neatness and despatch, groans, tears and billingsgate, white cravats and disconsolate faces, and sobs and bouquets for the orators who are bitterest and most blasphemous. Of course, Mr. Dickens was a lion, and threw pretty compliments to the greedy vanity of his godly friends.

Such men are the bane of all republics. They are the architects of all treason, and the constant fomenters of rebellion. They wind, with prophetic instinct, the tainted air of revolution, long before the birth of the agitation from which it is to spring. They plotted, with cold and devilish deliberation, the destruction of the Grand Republic, and, to the crime of treason added the contemplated villainy of murder and assassination, on a scale that Catherine de Medici might have envied. And out of all this they calmly calculated *their* share of pecuniary aggrandizement. Robespierre can no longer claim to be the prince of monsters. He were an eagle white in purity to

these voracious vultures that longed to grace the bloody surge of a servile revolution. Licentious pirates, they have cloaked their infamous intentions beneath a guise of patriotism, and, with meanness and tyranny masked under the divine smiles of philanthropy, they have allured men to their destruction. We deliberately and earnestly maintain that men like Sumner, Hale and Greeley, are guilty of the most awful of conspiracies against the liberty and happiness of mankind; and if there is a God who listens to the prayers of the oppressed nations, no expiation of the "one sin" that damns beyond hope, can conciliate His mercy or soften His vengeance.

They are men of parts, but parts devoted to a false cause. They overturned the best government the world has yet seen, because it did not harmonize with their ascetic philosophy. They wished a reconstruction of the republic on some ideal plan, that presupposed human nature angelic. In them the extreme of virtue is maddened into the extreme of crime, illustrating the maxim that all truth and honor lie in temperance. For the honor of our race, we could wish that we had some better reason than that of charity to say that they were ignorant of history, and children in the knowledge of the world who innocently erred; but the ears of the fool and the cloven foot of the knave flaunt out too evidently from the sweet majesty of the simple and holy semblance of the lion of the Lord. Their infidelity renounces Christianity, their Atheism insults the Deity, and their arrogance installs themselves as apostles in the place of Christ, because Christ omitted to denounce slavery as a compact with hell. Such, then, must have been the character of the men with whom Mr. Dickens entrusted himself on his arrival. We doubt not Mr. Dickens was fêted in a princely style, and feasted on the most delicate wines and choice viands. Of course, he was honored with the devoted attentions of the gentlemen and the kisses of the fair. No doubt he was besieged with the agonizing sighs of old spinsters, and ogled with the dying-calf look of tender reproach by chaste prudes who thought it would be a delightful thing one day to surprise their staid lords with a saucy poet or dashing novelist, and make him think the brains of the Browns had not run out. Possibly but for this petting, the North would have been treated more gratefully by the author, and Southern institutions might have been pictured more favorably. As it is, Mr. Dickens complains of the utter want of an aristocracy at the North, and of the plebeian manners of that people, while he speaks contemptuously of a "clique of aristocratic pretenders" in the South. This charge we will not trouble ourselves with a refutation of, as regards the North; but as applied to the South, it is absurd. If Mr. Dickens means by aristocracy a privileged order, we agree with him perfectly; but if he means accomplished and educated people, he would be at no trouble

to find his superiors in *that* respect in every wealthy county in the South. As we have before said, and will again say, we have many distinguished persons in our country who are rough in their manners and too uncouth to please the ladies—but this is eccentricity. Mr. Dickens might have found among our Southern planters a society with as much polish and learning, and with as much genius and beauty, as any of which his own country could boast. Is it not a slander upon the Wirts, the Rutledges, the Legarès, the princely Lady Washington, the Fairfaxes, the Madisons and Clays, to say we have no genius or refinement. The natural effect of English climate and isolation is to make men boors. The natural effect of the Southern climate is to make men gentlemen. There, art has come to the assistance of climate and made the English a polished people; but if Mr. Dickens will visit the *whole* South, he will discover that nature has done *all that here*. It is a great error to assume that we have no ladies and gentlemen because we discard the Nel' Gwin style of dress for our ladies, and leave the blue and gold and buff and jingling chains to persons of "flash." If Mr. Dickens means by an aristocracy a cultivated society, we certainly have it in the highest perfection. But Mr. Dickens must not suppose that, because the South is not a beautiful garden like England, its people, therefore, want the first qualification of polish—good taste. Emigration will one day remedy this, when our wealth is no longer tributary to a foreign race. In the Northern districts he may see a rough, ignorant genius jump from the ox team to the Senate by some fortunate change in political affairs, and rare instances in the South, also; but is not Mr. Dickens old enough to know that one swallow does not make a summer?

In what does the superiority of English aristocracy consist? Is the highest class of English society composed of proud and profligate lords, hiding their want of knowledge and stupidity by looking wise and saying nothing, and concealing their want of polish by keeping aloof from the ill-bred; or does it consist of men whose manners are kind to all, of big intellects, learning and Spartan character? In Saint James' you may see splendid vehicles, stuck all over with heraldic pictures and liveried servants. Faultless horses, shining in harness of embossed silver, whirl along the easy chariot at the most exhilarating speed. His lordship's family within blaze with diamonds, and, perhaps, a foppish captain or two sits by their side to entertain the young ladies with something laughable. His lordship's mansion is modelled with all the style and taste and genius that Palladius could throw in his creations. The ceilings glow with rich frescoes; the walls rustle with painted tapestries, and the marble halls and chambers of an oriental seraglio are not more luxuriously furnished. Here, Gothic cases, pinnaled and carved with a tracery of ornaments, glow with a

sunset of gilding reflected from the backs of expensive books, and marble busts and the classic statues of the illustrious adorn the dim alcoves. There, the walls are hidden with rare paintings of old masters, and the floor is thick with groups of marble people, as if so many *Aspasia's* or so many gods, at the very moment they showed the supreme grace of position and beauty of form, the blue veins coursing the alabaster, and all the breathing, look and life suddenly hardened in stone. Here, damask curtains, with their flowing cords and dangling tassels, tremble amidst the golden shadows that flash from the ornaments to which they are attached. There, you sink ankle-deep in the gorgeous Turkey, and cannot resist the repose that the profusion of arm-chairs, sofas and ottomans so temptingly offer. Here, chandeliers blaze with crystal and gold, and shining furniture of rosewood, and broad mirrors reflecting back the regal magnificence, astonish you; in a word, all the costly appointments that could embellish a palace that money could purchase or centuries produce. Here, you view parks and pleasure-grounds spreading over soil enough to make fifty Southern gentlemen wealthy. Groups of nymphs and marble fauns and satyrs stare from beneath the ancient shade-trees, and handsome cupids squirt up showers of diamonds, that fall in a misty sheet of rainbows to water the most splendid parterres of flowers. Groups of deer stand amidst sombre groves or stalk along cultivated glades, and on gala days fine chariots rattle along Macadamized avenues of ancient elms. Here, you see out-houses as fine as an American aristocrat's villa. There, pompous trains of servants as flashily dressed as a holiday general. Here, warrens alive with rabbits, stables stocked with blooded horses with pedigrees as pure and long as his lordship's; stalls of fat cattle, whose huge bulk of flesh and bone, and low-hanging milk-bags, are the results of the assiduous labors of his lordship's ancestry for nearly a thousand years. Here, flower-gardens, with walks exquisitely mosaiced, bloom beneath crystal cases built to shut out winter and preserve a piece of perpetual spring for his lordship's pleasure. Here, amid the broad banana leaves and blossoming thickets of orange and flowers, more curious and beautiful than the *espiritu saneto*, glitter the rich plumes of tropic birds and sound the classical notes of the nightingale. In a word, everything pleasant to the senses that enormous wealth can confer, is brought together to make one lord happy and a million of slaves wretched. Destroy the laws of entail and primogeniture and what becomes of these emparadised palaces of English noblemen. We abhor socialism, but we love a government that allows the wealth of the land to be distributed by the regular operations of legitimate commerce. American aristocracy, as Mr. Dickens terms it—this miserable spawn of a false republic—boasts no descent from a long line of ancestry, nor of

entailed inheritances that drive away the possibility of poverty. The chiefs who broke the prestige of British invincibility in our revolution give all the family glory we want, and the revenues of an honest industry all the wealth we desire. Our fathers were not delicately nursed in princely halls, nor did their eyes first open on frescoed ceilings, midst the officious attentions of fawning dependants. Their youth was not spent in indolent luxury and the cultivation of a tyrant heart. The princely estates that blessed them, the pious and affectionate families that smoothed their declining years, were not maintained by laws that discriminated against their fellow-beings. They did not coin in gold the blood the souls and sinews of a great nation, to support an idle and profligate aristocracy. They did not fill the land with an unnatural proportion of beggars, or the streets with beautiful women of ruined fame, who, instead of being ornaments, became the prostitutes of society to appease starvation. Their legislation never filled the prisons with thousands of men whose talents and moral worth would have brought them wealth and honor in a freer land. Their laws do not (as Mr. Dickens has eloquently proved the English do) shove little children on the cold charities of the world or compel infants to lisp pathetic falsehoods for bread, and, finally, grow up in crime and misery. Thank Heaven, we are free from these wailings and sufferings! Our statesmen, merchants and farmers of the olden time, first saw the light in rude, log houses. Their childhood was one of toil, and often on a glebe of sand or rocks; their recreations fishing with a crooked pin or hunting with an old musket—perhaps an heirloom of some patriot who fought at Eutaw. They read Virgil and Homer by the light of the pine-knots or crackle of the hickory, with the prattling children and gray-haired sires sitting around. Their food was coarse and their clothing rough. Their winter nights were devoted to study—their winter days to clearing away forests, where now stand fine cities. These are the proper contrasts between English and American aristocracy—and who could hesitate as to a choice? These were the fathers of the sons and daughters who now form the society of America, and where can more cultivation be found?

We are surprised that Mr. Dickens is so little a philosopher, and is at such a loss to apply what philosophy he has to the facts of history and workings of human nature, and from them draw a just and rational theory of society and government. We are surprised (knowing human nature so well, as his novels show, and describing so minutely the degrading situation of English slaves) that he should find so little to admire and so much to condemn in our institutions. We might say it is the eternal law of nature that the many should serve the few, and that it is the duty of philanthropists to ameliorate the condition of the man, just so far as they *can*, without disorganizing

society. We might say that the Southern system, considering its material, bears lighter on the laborer than any system yet known, and that a condition where the slaves are compelled to perform certain duties, and the masters assume certain responsibilities, is the best that can be devised for the heathen; and that as long as a portion of mankind were to remain servants, it were better to take them from inferior races. But we cannot believe the mass of the English people are so happy as the mass of our slaves, or that the English Government has done a tithe of what is in its power to soften the condition of its subjects to that degree of which it is susceptible.

What we have stated is not the effect of prejudice. If we have been severe, we have been truthful. If Mr. Dickens is familiar with the history of his country, he must be aware that a bloody tissue of crimes runs through the figures of her heroism and glory. It is hardly necessary to refer to the oppression and robberies in India; of Warren Hastings' tyranny, and the murder of so many oriental princes solely for their treasure. We will not refer to the American revolution. It may be out of place just now, since England is at last coming to appreciate us at our just value. But with all, England's history in the past is grand; her history in the future will be grander still. Her wars for liberty against the Spanish Philip, the wars for liberty against Louis XIV, her wars for liberty against Napoleon the Great, and the sublime heroism and self-sacrifice displayed in those contests, redeem her character. The Magna Charta and the inheritance of common law and constitutional government alone would bleach her sins into the whiteness of virtue. She has given the world the profoundest men of science, the most truthful philosophers, the best historians, the acutest statesmen and politico-economists—with a few exceptions—the most eloquent orators, the sweetest and sublimest poets, the greatest inventive genius, and in the arts of sculpture and painting alone has she been excelled. In country seats, in gardens, in parks, that embroider her rivers and lakes and make the land one beautiful pleasure ground—in all that relates to the art of living and the embellishment of life, she has not been approached.

America alone has rivalled her in invention. Italy alone has surpassed her in the fine arts. France alone has given birth to a greater general. She has produced one poet, whose creations would be literature enough for Spain or Germany to boast of. She has produced one philosopher, in whose works may be found the only philosophy that has been of any practical benefit to the world. She has produced one novelist, who unites in himself the classic richness, sanctified by truth and taste, and the wit and eloquence of all novelists. In no nation, ancient or modern, has there been such a fertile development or such a wide variety of genius. Her naval glory panegyric itself could

hardly exaggerate. And why has this all been? We answer: in the happy union of the Norman, the most elegant and chivalrous of races, and the Saxon, the most substantial and sensible of races. And yet the glory of England has not culminated. What a theme for poetry will her future history be. A thousand years will see her the mother of a hundred nations, more powerful and civilized than herself—a thousand years will exhibit Australia a continent of improved Englands, on a grander scale, quarrelling about the balance of power—a thousand years, and new British empires will rise in Japan and India; and Christianity, under the folds of St. George's cross, may resume her ancient inheritance—a thousand years, and mightier Englands will occupy the American continent; and the art and genius of her Wrens and Loudons will embellish the more beautiful scenery of southern latitudes. And all *these* will be freer and greater than England, and more wealthy and more lovely. With other things, humanity and the science of government will have advanced, and republics take the place of monarchies. Mr. Dickens will see that we are willing to do his own country justice. We will even go farther, and say that we would not willingly see Great Britain a democracy, until a greater development of civilization shall take away the risk of transformation. A sudden reform would be disastrous. The change from a monarchy, however free, to a republic, must be very gradual to prevent the danger of national extinction. We, therefore, think her present government the best for her people, considering the age in which we live, and the contracted limits of her insular empire.

England with all her faults, has enough of good to redeem her; and we have satirized those faults more to show the author of the "Notes on America" that recrimination is an easy accomplishment, than from any prejudice against that great nation. But, we must begin our conclusion with the observation that recrimination has never mended a fault or reformed those in error. Let the men of the South and the men of Britain prove their common descent from a noble ancestry, by the cultivation of good will and the interchange of kind acts. Let there be an affectionate alliance of their souls and a union of their power, in advancing constitutional freedom. We of the South boast of a pure English blood, undiluted by foreign mixture, and we venerate that merry old England, the mother of our dearest associations, our laws and literature, and religion and liberty; and should the trying day ever come when her existence shall be endangered by the assaults of more barbarous powers, she will find that Southern swords have edges keen, to find a way to the hearts of her enemies. We love old England for her William, who stood all odds for liberty against the overshadowing tyranny of France—we love her for her great minds and great deeds—we love her for the rich inheritances of thought, inven-

tion and discovery—we love her for Shakspeare—we love her for constitutional liberty. We know she has her faults—we know we have ours; but let not an uncharitable judgment of these make us enemies.

ART. III.—HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE. BY M. GUIZOT.

The secret of social life, of animal life, and of vegetable life, elude all analysis. Much as men have thought and written and experimented on these subjects, they are as far to-day from knowing how to create a man, a society, or the minutest vegetable, as they were at the earliest dawn of history or tradition. Vital forces are hidden, and ever will be hidden, from mortal ken. Society is as old as man; it is a consequence of his nature, of his necessities, and of his instincts. Reason and design have nothing to do with its origin, and very little with its growth. Its improvement is always the result of accident or usurpation, and its decay and dissolution proceed from causes too subtle, too various, too complex or too profound, to be reached, detected, analyzed and expounded by human intellect. Society implies government: for there can be no government without one or many societies, and no society without government.

These truths were well understood in the days of Aristotle; but now-a-days men have grown rash, charlatanic and presumptuous, and are in a fair way to forget the art of government in the illusive Utopian pursuit of its science. There is not, and never can be, a science of medicine, of agriculture, or of government. They should be, and are, pursued by all wise and practical men as useful arts, not sciences.

There may be an imperfect system or science of law, but law is not all of government; and no system of law, or of government, was ever tolerated by a people unless it grew up insensibly, and without plan or design amongst them, or was imposed upon them by superior external force.

Law-makers see this, and meet once a year: not to make law, but to accept such changes as nature and circumstances require. Were there a science of legislation, they might make laws like the fabled ones of the Medes and Persians, never to be changed.

Legislation is pathological; it discovers no general, exact or universal truths, and hence adapts itself to varying circumstances as they arise, without the wisdom or the prescience to foresee them, and provide for them before they have arisen.

Jurisprudence is equally pathological, and equity has often to restrain or dispense with the imperfect and harsh provisions of the law. Man can tell what is right under present circum-

stances, but no two cases arise in all respects alike—so that he can establish no practical rule of right. This great truth is admitted, and carried into practice by the frequent changes of law; and by the necessity to have a dispensing power or court of equity, to relieve from the written law when it would operate iniquitously. *Equity is the pathology of law*; and jurists who admit the necessity of equity, unconsciously assert that law is not a science.

The doctors are ahead, in thought and theory, of the lawyers, though behind them in practice. The dispensing power, whether prætor, king, emperor or chancellor, is as old as history; but lawyers, legislators and statesmen never knew what it meant. The doctors have evinced more philosophical acumen, and have invented the terms nosology and pathology—that is, the law and equity of medicine. They are learned, philosophical, modest, and honest enough to admit that they know so little of human life and health that they dare not practice on general rules, and must treat symptoms as they arise, regardless of the name, class, or nosology of the disease. The lawyers are conceited, dogmatical, charlatanic, and believe in fixed rules of right and wrong, although their whole practice, as legislators or judges, is founded on and carries out the opposite principle. They practised pathology long before the doctors taught it, but have ever been as unconscious of the fact as the peasant who was surprised to learn that he had all his life been speaking the English language.

As for the farmers, they have always been more sensible men than lawyers or doctors, and have rejected with disdain scientific agriculture, the nosology of farming, which they contemptuously dub mere book-farming, and adopted and practised the pathological or experimental system. With them their profession has ever been treated as an art, not a science.

There is no such thing as moral, medical or agricultural science, and never can be; because man is ignorant, and must ever remain ignorant of the vital forces that originate and sustain societies, animals and vegetables. Were it possible for him to detect them, he might create a vegetable, and give it life and growth—make a man, and breathe into him a living soul; or, what is far more difficult, make a society or government which is compounded of many individuals, and embraces all the complexities of individual as well as of social life. Society is a God-created being, like hives and herds and flocks, and it would be less absurd and presumptuous to attempt to create the individuals who constitute a society in the segregate, than the social being which is their compound and aggregate.

It does not follow, because government is a natural and original condition of mankind, that, therefore, nothing can be done from time to time to better adapt and improve it. All of human life is a ceaseless struggle between fate and free will.

Providence, in the main, prescribes our condition as individuals or as nations, but leaves much room for voluntary action, and requires it of us as a condition of our well-being, that we should be ever struggling against the evils that surround us. How much our career in life is the result of circumstance and necessity; how much depends on our own exertions, we can never know; yet, are all conscious that we are responsible beings, free, in general, to pursue this or that mode of action, and dependent for success in life on our own exertions. We may fail despite of exertion, but cannot succeed without it. "A Paul may plant and an Apollos water, but God alone can give the increase." Yet Paul must plant and Apollos water, or there will surely be no increase. Government cannot be made by man, but he must be continually mending it, pruning it, or adding to it, or it will be sure to go to speedy ruin. We must physic nature; not attempt to create it or expel it.

The statesmen of the South are eminently conservative and experimental, and disposed to retain all institutions that have worked well in practice, however unreasonable they may seem in theory. Our new constitution differs little from that of the United States, which worked well, until a sectional majority arose at the north with institutions, feelings, interests and political doctrines, differing from ours. It is sufficient for the present to get rid of the tyrannical dominion of that inimical section, and to change our system gradually hereafter only when necessity and experience shall dictate the propriety of change.

It has been well remarked that any existing government, unless it be that of one nation over another, is better suited to the people over whom it presides than any entirely new form of government that the wit of man could devise for such a people. In other words, that any prescriptive, natural government that has grown up by degrees, is preferable to any that man can contrive. Our institutions were imported from England, or have grown up at home. Let us be cautious how we change them.

The work of M. Guizot on the origin of representative government, comprises a revision and embodiment of a series of lectures which he delivered in 1820, '21 and '22. It is as a whole, a very indifferent book, although abounding with brilliant passages, sage reflections, and profound philosophic truths, and, besides, evincing great learning, industry and curious research. It lacks continuity and connection. The author has collected rich materials from a thousand sources, but we do not see that he has made any use of them in erecting or sustaining the theory which he advances. There is no chain of argument that connects his various, suggestive and learned premises with his lame and impotent conclusions. In very truth, he is a French socialist and perfectionist, and although a man of vast

ability, yet sees everything through the distorted medium of a false philosophy. He would, if offered the opportunity, make governments to order for all sorts of people as fast as an undertaker turns out coffins, or as Locke or Abbé Sieges could make constitutions "warranted not to fit." The peculiar type of political mania under which he labors was carried from America to France by Jefferson, Franklin and Lafayette. It found there a congenial soil and clime, spread faster than small pox, cholera or yellow fever, and would be spreading still but for the sagacious, bold and successful practice of Louis Napoleon. This form of madness was alike in all the patients, in this, that each declared he had discovered a system of government which would prove an infallible cure for all social diseases, and quite banish moral evil; but no two of these lunatics ever proposed the same system. The representative system that has imperceptibly grown up in England, is our author's panacea. He believes it is suited for all times, places and peoples, and is quite lachrymose at the folly and wickedness of Louis Napoleon and the French people, who, wholly unconscious of its beauties and its blessings, banished it from France.

The attempt of one people to copy and introduce the institutions of another, has been treated by practical statesmen as a proverbial absurdity for thousands of years; yet Guizot wonders at and deplors the failure of an experiment which has always failed whenever tried.

This thing of government-making would be the easiest thing in the world, if one could make the men to be governed; for then one should know the value, force and adaptation of the materials out of which we proposed to rear our edifice. To build a government or society, we must begin by constructing its separate parts; the integers or individuals who are to compose it. That is the way God Almighty makes governments or societies, and man will never effect it by taking a shorter cut. Until he can go to work in the same way, he must be content to accept government, ready made, from the hand of God.

The following quotation from the preface will give the reader a faint idea of the peculiar hallucination under which M. Guizot labors: "When, in the year 1820, I devoted my energies to this course of instruction, I was taking leave of public life, after having, during six years, taken an active part in the work of establishing representative government in our land. The political ideas and friends with whom I had been associated, were, at that period, removed from the head of affairs. I connected myself with their reverses without abandoning our common hopes and efforts. We had faith in our institutions. Whether they entailed upon us good or evil fortune, we were equally devoted to them. I was unwilling to cease to serve their cause. I endeavored to explain the origin and principles of representative government, as I had attempted to practise it."

"How shall I speak, at the present day, of bad fortune and reverse, in reference to 1820? What shall we say of the fate that has recently overtaken our father-land, and of that which is, perhaps, in store for us? It is a shame to make use of the same words in respect to evils and dangers so prodigiously unequal. In truth, the trials of 1820 were severe and painful, yet the state was not thrown into confusion by them, and they were followed by ten years of regular and free government. In 1830, a still severer trial, the test of revolution, was applied to our noble institutions and they did not succumb; they shook off the revolutionary yoke, and gave us eighteen years more of order and liberty. From 1814 to 1848, notwithstanding so many violent convulsions, constitutional monarchy remained standing, and events justified the obstinacy of our hopes. But now the storm has struck every institution, and still threatens to destroy all that survive. Not merely kings and laws, but the very root of government, of all government. What do I say? The roots of society itself have been reached, and are left bare and almost torn up. Can we again seek safety at the same source? Can we still believe and hope in representative government and monarchy?"

We differ with Guizot as to representative government. We don't think representative government is an English discovery. We believe all government is, or should be, representative. We think the father and husband the only natural, proper and reliable representative of his wife and children—appointed by nature, not elected by wife and children. We believe the master to be the natural, and only safe and reliable representative of his slaves—the lord or baron the representative of his serfs and vassals—the Roman senator or patrician the representative of his clients, freedmen and slaves—and the king or emperor the representative of all his subjects. We believe that equals never did, and never will, honestly and fairly represent their equals; for equals are competitors, rivals and enemies, struggling to advance themselves by injuring each other. The king, the nobility and clergy, honestly and fairly represent the interests of the laboring classes of England; but the House of Commons, emanating from that class, is its dire enemy, and only represents the bankers, farmers, landlords and other capitalists of the nation. The House of Commons preceded by a century pauperism in England. But for that house, there never would have been pauperism there—for king, lords and clergymen would have extended equal protection to all, and never suffered a parcel of roguish commoners to have grown fat by despoiling their equals, the laboring class. The French Revolution of '93 brought about the same result there. The shopkeepers and petty landholders, bankers and other capitalists, were put in power. The *bourgeoisie* were substituted for king, bishops and nobility—the wolves for the lions—the natural friends, parents

and protectors of the people for their mean, natural and contemptible enemies, parvenus and upstarts, elected from their own body. The true representative must be a superior—a king, a lord, a bishop, or a master—some one who best advances his own interests by taking care of the interests of his constituents; one who is not paid for his services—for if his interest in the public weal be not large enough to justify his giving his services, he is apt to swindle the people whom he affects to represent. He is sure not to levy high taxes where his part of the tax would exceed his salary. But where he is poor and has little or nothing to tax, but much to gain from taxation, by providing fat offices for his children, cousins and base tools who elect him to office, he will, therefore, ever be ready to vote for the heaviest system of taxation. The Southern master, the Roman senator, and the English baron, always opposed heavy taxes, because they had to pay them; or, to speak more accurately, heavy taxes by government lessened the profits which they derived from their slaves, tenants, vassals and other dependants. The interests of superior and inferior, of landlord and tenant, of king and subject, of patrician and plebeian, of lord and vassal, of bishop and laity, of father and children, of husband and wife, are indissolubly tied up together; and the former will feelingly and honestly represent, advocate and advance, the interests of the latter: because they thereby take care of and advance their own interests. But equals are always rivals, competitors and enemies; and when one of the poor is chosen to represent the poor, he never fails to fleece, oppress and swindle them, for that is the only way in which he can use his office for self-promotion.

Representative government did not begin in England. It is natural and has been universal. Diseased society brought forth the House of Commons, the tools of the moneyed class; and this house has so neglected and oppressed the laboring people, that a fourth power has arisen in the nation. The laborers, finding that they had no voice or influence, and little sympathy, in government, have banded themselves into trades unions, in order to take care of their own interests. There was no necessity for this until the king was stripped of his prerogative, the baron of his serfs and vassals, and the church of its lands. Until then, every man in England had his place, his home, his protector, his means of certain support, by light and easy labor. Until then, there were no paupers or poor-houses in England; because, until then, it was the interest and duty and obligation of the rich and powerful to take care of the poor; because, until then, every laborer was naturally and properly represented by a superior whose interests cohered with those of the laborer.

Actual representation ended just where nominal representation begun. We do not wish to appropriate the credit of origi-

nality when it is not due to us. Fanny Wright, afterward Mrs. Darasmont, is the author from whom we borrow our theory. She thinks representation in England was perfect in the time of the old barons, when every man had a master or was a master; and that it ceased when the vassals or serfs were liberated, outlawed, and deprived of all certain means of livelihood. Up to this point, we agree cordially with Miss Wright—nay, we agree further with her, that the present state of things in England, and in all other countries of Europe where the serfs have been liberated, is an intolerable condition, a mere transition state, destined to usher in a better state of things. At this point, however, we differ widely. She thinks the next step is to an untried condition of social equality; we think the next step will be a return to slavery—the natural, normal, and, in general, necessary condition of society.

Louis Napoleon fairly, honestly and wisely represents the interests of all the people of France, and is most attentive to those of the "*ouvriers*" or laboring class, because they are most numerous, and, when called into action, most powerful. He convenes his council, and consults with the wisest and most practical men from every part of France, in order to ascertain and advance the true interests of the great masses—the laborers—who constitute the bone and sinew of society. His government is parental and representative in reality, not merely in name. The miserable thing called representative government, under the restored Bourbons and Louis Phillipe, which Guizot admires, was the rule of the middle classes, the meanest part of society; of the wolf over the lamb—of the men who live by exploiting instead of protecting labor. It was intolerable, because it put the meanest (*the bourgeoisie*) upmost.

Russia, since the days of Peter the Great, has been purely and honestly and indefatigably a representative government. Men have been summoned from every part of the empire, and consulted as to the wishes and interests of their different localities—honest, truthful, well-informed men; not mere political speculators and swindlers, such as the people are but too apt to elect. There is not a government in all Germany that is not more really and honestly representative than that of England. In Germany, Prussia, Austria, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, government looks to and takes care of poor as well as rich. In England, the poor are ignored; consequently, there are more helpless, outlawed, dependent, perhaps, in England, Scotland and Ireland, than in the whole of the rest of Europe. The so-called representative government of England is the best in the world, for the rich who do not labor—the worst in the world, for the poor who do labor. It is the least representative government that has ever existed, because it represents fewest of the people. Guizot has been deceived by a name. His English representative government is strictly and *practically misrep-*

representative. It was found to be so in France. We could adduce abundance of French authorities to prove our position, had we time and space. The revolution of '93 dethroned king, nobility and church—the natural friends of the working people—and put in power their natural, mean and implacable enemies, the shopmen, little landlords and capitalists. Guizot's representative system is accurately defined in the trite adage, "*Luus a lucendo.*" Were he in the habit of reasoning from his premises, he would have discovered that all governments in a healthy and normal state, were essentially the same, for he says: "The two facts—society and government—mutually imply one another. Society without government, is no more possible than government without society. The very idea of society implies that of rule, of universal law—that is to say, of government. This necessary coexistence of society and government, shows the absurdity of the hypothesis of the social contract." Now, as government is natural to men, and men's natures, habits, wants, passions, virtues, vices and propensities are as much alike as those of bees, ants, beavers, or any other social animals, it would seem to follow that the social forms and government of different nations must be naturally, and, when in a healthy state, as much alike as those of other gregarious animals. We have tried in former essays to furnish conclusive proof of this position, by showing that the same institutions, under different names, were to be found among all civilized nations, and that these institutions were all prescriptive, as old as man himself, as far as we could learn from history or tradition.

The representative system of the South is like that of England in her feudal times. The representatives own the lands and laborers, and may be safely trusted to represent, provide for, and take care of what is their own. The representative system of ancient Rome in her palmy days was like ours, but more perfect than ours. The patricians owned, in some sense, all the classes below them, either as slaves, clients, freedmen, wives or children, or other dependants.

The Russian nobility must have represented admirably their serfs, who constitute the bulk of the people, or Russia would not have grown and improved so rapidly. But the emperor has caught the Jeffersonian-French fever, and is determined to liberate and outlaw the serfs, just as they have been liberated and outlawed in southern Europe. When they begin to starve, as starve they must, there will arise a plentiful crop of trades unions, red republican hymns, riots, barricades and bloody revolutions, besides guillotines and poor-houses.

In the following passage, the author had liked to have stumbled upon a great and valuable truth: "The age in which we live has taken too much pains to seek guaranties in physical force, and has neglected to seek for them in moral ideas. In barbarian times, as all powers, both of kings and subjects, are

almost equally unregulated, they appear bad guaranties to sensible men, who seek for purer sureties in moral ideas." Now, if he meant by "moral ideas" the instinctive feelings, affections and sympathies which are common, in more or less degree, to all mankind, and which induce the strong, wise and powerful to protect and take care of the weak and dependent; and, on the other hand, impel the weak and ignorant to look up to, respect and obey those above them in authority, wisdom, strength or position. If this were what he meant, then he would have discovered and announced a great and valuable truth—then he would have found out that "strength of weakness" with which nature has invested women, children, subjects, slaves and other dependants, that operates to restrain, check and balance the power of superiors far better than any human legislation. God made society, with all the necessary checks and balances, and human law but enforces nature when it punishes crime—for crime is abnormal and unnatural. Man's benevolent affections, his social and "antiselfish" nature, usually restrain him from abuse of power—not some vague and undiscovered standard of right and justice which Utopians like Guizot are ever pursuing and never attain. This imaginary standard constitutes what he calls "moral ideas." To make this clearer, we will cite another passage, in which he fully discloses himself as a visionary perfectionist: "The historic school professes other characteristics, and falls into different errors. With the utmost respect for facts, it easily allows itself to be induced to attribute to them merits to which they are not entitled—to see more reason and justice, that is to say, more right, in them than they really contain, and to resist even the slightest bold attempt to judge and regulate them according to principles more conformable to general reason. It is even inclined to deny those principles, to maintain that *there is no rational and invariable type of right that man can take as a guide in his efforts or his opinions—an error of great magnitude, and sufficient to place this school, philosophically considered, in a subordinate rank. What, then, is perfection, if there is no ideal perfection to be arrived at? What is the progress of real rights, if there is no rational right to comprehend them all? What is the human mind, if it is incapable of penetrating beyond actual realities in its knowledge of this actual right? And how can it judge of them except by comparing them with this sublime type, which it never holds in full possession, but which it cannot deny without abnegating itself, and losing every fixed rule and guiding thread. Doubtless, facts command respect, because they are a condition, a necessity; and they deserve it, because they always contain a certain measure of right. But the judgment ought never to be enslaved by them, nor should it attribute absolute legitimacy to reality. Is it so difficult, then, to perceive that*

evil is evil, even when it is powerful and inevitable? The historic school constantly endeavors to evade this confession."

We informed the reader, at the outset, that M. Guizot was a political monomaniac. We are sure the above quotation will suffice to prove that we have not misrepresented him. His "rational and invariable type of right" is an absurdity which none but a madman would go in quest of.

The historic school, which he condemns, is the tory party of England, the conservative secession party of the South—the party to which we are proud to belong, the party of Moses and Solomon and Aristotle. The party to which he belongs, is that of half-demented socialists and perfectionists.

His notions of good and evil are unphilosophical, and contradicted by all human experience. Evil is but excess of good. There is nothing good or evil in itself, in the abstract. Opposing, antagonistic powers and principles sustain the physical and the moral world. The undue preponderance of any one principle or power constitutes evil, and brings on decay and death. Good is but the just equilibrium between opposing qualities or powers. In the moral and the physical world, everything is good, when duly balanced and proportioned, in combination and in the concrete. Nothing exists, or can exist, in the abstract; there is, therefore, nothing good or evil in itself. We don't think with Pope, that "whatever is, is right." There is always, with men, a tendency to excess, and consequent wrong. But we must not try to expel anything that is natural. All of man's passions, appetites, feelings and propensities were given to him for good, wise and necessary purposes; they are none evil when not excessively indulged; and moral duty is performed when we balance them properly, not by eradicating any of them.

We were disposed to think Carlyle's account of the origin of the British Parliament somewhat apocryphal until we read M. Guizot. Carlyle says that, in the beginning, the Parliament was a mere Christmas or holiday frolic, attended by all the noble, rich and powerful of the kingdom, where, between their cups, all affairs of state were discussed and determined on. And that to make sure of coming to wise conclusions, the king and his festive counsellors first deliberated in a drunken symposium, then reconsidered matters in grave and sober assemblage, and lastly, came to firm resolves in a half drunken frolic. It is a little remarkable that the old Persians, the ancient Germans, and the Canadian Indians, deliberated also on public affairs, first drunk and then sober, and that even the heathen gods, when matters of grave import required them to consult together, celebrated the occasion by a great feast.

Guizot gives the following account of the primitive Parliaments, under Norman rule:

"*Curia de more, curia regis*, signified, originally, neither merely the privy council of the king nor his tribunal; it was evidently a grand assembly, at which all the nobles of the kingdom were present, either to treat of the affairs of state or to assist the king in the administration of justice. 'The king,' says the Saxon Chronicle, 'was wont to wear his crown three times a year—at Easter, at Winchester; at Whitsuntide, in Westminster; at Christmas, in Gloucester; and then there were present with him all the great men of all England—archbishops and bishops, abbots and counts, thanes and knights.' 'A royal edict,' says William, of Malmsbury, 'called to the *curia de more* all the nobles, of every grade, in order that those sent from foreign countries might be struck with the magnificence of the company, and with the splendor of the festivities.' All the nobles of the kingdom came, according to usage, to the king's court on the day of our Saviour's nativity. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, having presented himself *ad curiam pro more*, was received with joy by the king and all the nobility of the kingdom. In 1100, at Christmas, the kingdom of England assembled at London, according to custom, at the king's court."

We are about to conclude this essay by giving the concluding part of a letter written by the celebrated Hineman, archbishop of Rheims, in 882, sixty-eight years after the death of Charlemagne, descriptive of the *quasi*-Parliaments of that great prince. This description, we think, will incline the reader to believe that Charlemagne's practice of representative government was very superior to M. Guizot's dazzling and confused theory about it. Yet his book is exceedingly interesting and instructive. Full of curious historic research, profound reflections, sparkling epigram, and glowing rhetoric.

Hineman informs us that Charlemagne convened two vast assemblages annually, to consult and get information as to the state of the kingdom. He enters into a very minute description of the various classes and persons who compose those meetings, and gives a lively and graphic account of their proceedings after they had met. We have room only for the concluding portion of his letter:

"Whilst these affairs were thus arranged out of the presence of the king, the prince himself, in the midst of the multitude that had come to the general assembly, was busy in receiving presents, greeting the most important individuals, conversing with those whom he saw but seldom, exhibiting an affectionate interest in the old, laughing and joking with the young, and doing these and similar things to ecclesiastics as well as laymen. However, if those who were deliberating upon the matters submitted to their judgment desired it, the king went to them, and remained with them as long as they wished; and there they reported to him, with entire familiarity, what they

thought of various matters, and about even the friendly discussions that had arisen amongst them.

"I must not forget to mention that, if the weather were fine, all this went on in the open air; but, if not, in several distinct buildings, by which those who had to deliberate on the king's propositions were separated from the multitude of persons who had come to the assembly, and these the less important men could not enter. The building intended for the meeting of the nobles was divided into two parts, so that the bishops, abbots, and superior clergy could meet together without any mixture of laymen. In the same way, the counts and other distinguished persons of the state separated themselves in the morning from the rest of the multitude, until the time came when, whether the king were present or absent, they all met together; and then the nobles above mentioned, the clergy on their side, and the laymen on theirs, proceeded to the hall which was assigned to them, and where seats had been honorably prepared for them. When the lay and ecclesiastical lords were thus separated from the multitude, it was in their power to sit either together or separately, according to the nature of the affairs which they had to discuss, whether ecclesiastical, secular, or mixed. In the same way, if they wished to send for any one, either to bring them food (quare, also drink), or to answer any question, and to dismiss him after they had attained what they desired, it was in their power so to do. Thus proceeded the examination of the affairs, which the king proposed for their deliberation.

"The second occupation of the king was, to demand from each what he had to report or relate to him regarding that part of the kingdom from which he had come; not only was this permitted to all, but they were specially enjoined to make inquiries, during the interval between the assemblies, about what was going on both within and without the kingdom; and they were to seek information from foreigners as well as natives, from enemies as well as friends: sometimes by employing envoys, and without being very scrupulous as to the way in which the information was obtained. The king desired to know whether, in any district or corner of his kingdom, the people were murmuring or disaffected, and what was the cause of their disaffection; and whether any disorder had occurred which required the attention of the general council, and other like details. He also sought to know whether any of the conquered nations were likely to revolt, or whether any that had revolted seemed disposed to submit, or whether those that still remained independent threatened the kingdom with any attack, etc. Upon all these matters, whenever disorder or danger appeared, his chief care was to learn what was the motive or occasion thereof."

No wonder he was called Charles the Great. His parliament,

or congress, or assembly, was composed of candid, truthful, honest, well-informed men. Men who possessed valuable and peculiar information on every subject relating to the common weal. There was not a stump orator among them; not one of that windy, verbose genus, who pretend to know everything, and really know nothing, except to crack jokes, speak to Buncombe, and get fat jobs and offices for their relations and dependants, male and female. The stump orator of our day is generally a vulgar, ignorant, brazen-faced attorney; often half parson and half Thompsonian doctor, who has picked up witticisms from the clown in the circus, the razor-strop man, and the negro auctioneer; and picked up law from Henning's Justice, the clerks, and deputy sheriffs. He is fully as well fitted to play colonel or major-general as anything else, and seeing that law is at a discount, and war in the ascendant, he generously offers to go to the war, provided he can get profitable employment. He could not make a pair of negro's brogues for his life, because he never learned how, but is ready to command an army, of which he knows less than of shoemaking. The camp is a better school in which to make a soldier than West Point; but these stump orators, who propose to lead armies, were half of them never in camp. Our Western volunteer officers, who have fought the Indians, fought in Texas, in Mexico and California; who have lived from boyhood in the midst of danger, with their arms under their pillows, are admirable soldiers, and well fitted for command; but Eastern stump orators are not fitted to make or to mend shoes, to make or to mend laws, to lead armies, nor to do anything useful. Let them stick to their vocation, and make silly speeches for Buncombe, and perpetrate stale witticisms for the mob. We would not give a cent for our institutions, if corrupt and ignorant stump orators, like Lincoln, are not speedily whistled down the wind. But we hope and trust, "there is a good time coming!"

ART. IV.—SHALL WE HAVE A NAVY? SHALL WE PURSUE THE DEFENSIVE POLICY, OR INVADE THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY?

So long as a people can control their own actions it is safe to consider they will be governed by their own material interests—they will seek to promote them. But, there are times when they *cannot* control their actions; and the failure in the people of the South to recognize this great truth, is the source of all their troubles and all their dangers. As in the life of Ensau, there was a time when he could but *would not*, and a time when he would, but *could not*, so there is in every man's life such periods; and as men make up a nation, a people, there are in the history of every people such periods, and these

periods, whether the actors so recognize them or not, historians denominate *epochs*. To prove what I say, for profit and instruction, not in any fault-finding spirit, let us recur to the history of the few past years. It is well known that every effort made by the noble and self-sacrificing men of the South to arouse her people to approaching dangers, was made of none effect and rendered abortive by the one argument that, on the approach of real danger, the South could save herself—could control her destiny through her staple productions. No matter how many and how vital the rights of which she was deprived—no matter how many nor how humiliating the wrongs to which she was required to submit, nor how fatal the violations of that constitution, intended as the shield and protector of her rights and liberties and independence, the conclusive and all-sufficient answer was, the South had nothing of real danger to apprehend for her staples were her strength—these were to her the locks of Samson, and of which she could not be shorn, because she alone had the climate and the system of labor to produce them. Her people, as fond of the syren song of peace and continuing prosperity as her bad men were of position, of the honors and emoluments of office, confided in this assurance. And hence no appeals, however eloquent or patriotic, no voice, however prophetic, in behalf of "truth, justice and the constitution," could arouse her people from the false security—the fatal lethargy into which this idea had lulled them. Eyes they had to see, but perceived not—ears to hear, but understood not. This idea in its full force, was presented to the North by Mr. Calhoun; and although utterly disregarded by them, our people still, as if determined to be dupes, rested their all upon this assurance. The people of the North knew who paid the taxes (rather tribute) to support the government, and knew well the system of robbery that enriched them. They knew as well as we, the indispensable condition of their prosperity was the prosperity and peace of the South and the preservation of her institutions and system of labor. But none can now deny that the people of the North have resolved upon the *extirpation* of slavery, and, also, if needs be, the *extermination* of the South. Because their fortunes vacillate in the border states, they profess otherwise; but he who can believe such profession can believe anything. Where, now, is the reliance of the South? She does not depend upon the strength of her staples to extort from her enemies recognition of her rights, and liberties, and independence, but upon the valor of her sons and the death-dealing implements of war. And unless we triumph in a separation final and complete, and free from dependence upon that people in any manner, shape or form, had not the voice of inspiration declared otherwise, I should believe our condition, sooner or later, would become more intolerable than that of the people of Judæa, when their chief city was beleaguered by the victorious Romans,

under the command of Titus. I say sooner or later, because other people may be enemies in war, and in peace friends; but the people of the North, unlike any other people, are enemies in peace as well as in war.

In an article on the Confederate States constitution, in the September number of De Bow's Review, in an article upon our true position, in the October and November number of the same, in tracing the causes it was attempted to explain why we could not safely rely upon our staples for the protection of our rights and liberties, safety and independence. And, in confirmation of the truthful illustration of the operation of the causes assigned, I appeal to the highest authority, Mr. Calhoun—to him of whom it has been so justly said, while liberty has had many friends and many martyrs, it may well be doubted if, excepting him, it ever had a genuine apostle. And, after all, the great event the contest in which we are now engaged, will decide, "is whether Mr. Calhoun shall go down to posterity portrayed in the colors of the Gracchi of the patricians, or of the Gracchi of the people." I quote from his Disquisition upon Government, volume first of his works. After assigning the causes that are at work, and must continue to work, in solving the question: what forms will governments assume, those of the form monarchy, or of the more liberal form, he remarks the interval—the period of transition between the decay of the old and the formation of the new, will be one of *uncertainty, confusion, error, and wild and fierce fanaticism*. That governments of the more civilized are now in the midst of this period, and through this period few will be able successfully to pass. I wish all could and would read the whole, especially from page 85 to 91 inclusive.

We have seen how fatal has been our reliance upon our staples as regards the North. Shall we affirm the same reliance in regard to foreign powers? True, it would seem England's population to a greater extent than that of the North, being dependent upon the manufacture of our staple, cotton, for bread, might make our cause rather more favorable, as the North can turn her operations to agricultural pursuits, having the soil for the purpose, and keep up her armies also. Still, the North must have clothing as well as England; and England, too, may need armies, and if she took for her armies the male population engaged in such pursuits, and which for want of supplies they must abandon, and, for bread must enter the army, it would not be a greater increase of the standing armies of Europe proportionably than what we behold is the increase on this continent, and the remaining operatives might find a supply in East India cotton, and our cotton remaining blocked up, would at once give England the monopoly of the cotton market—a result long coveted—an object long struggled for. But even now, while I am writing, our people believe England and France,

and, perhaps, Spain, have recognized us as a people—from this they infer the blockade by foreign interposition will be raised, and, probably, a war between England and the United States will follow, opening to us the prospect of an early peace. If so, I shall rejoice. But if our independence be recognized and the blockade be raised, what will it prove? Why, simply that the North could not do what foreign powers could—control their own actions, and were governed by their own material interests—not that our staples were all-sufficient for our safety and independence. How long it will be that foreign powers can control their actions I cannot say; but if the causes assigned by Mr. Calhoun continue to operate, and it would seem they must, looking to the future as dependent upon existing causes, it cannot be long, in all human probability, unless the rulers of foreign powers can consent, in deference to the increasing demands which a sound public opinion and an increasing diffusion of light and intelligence will continue, to make concessions by which they will be shorn of absolute power. My object and desire are that the South should prepare in earnest for a struggle which neither time, nor change, nor chance, can avert. It is a mistaken idea—nonsense to believe that the statesmen of Great Britain were influenced themselves by fanaticism in the abolition of African slavery in her provinces. It is nonsense to believe Brougham in earnest when he introduced the sable doctor to Mr. Dallas, because he thought the blacks and whites were equals. Every act of his life belies his belief to that effect. He is honored by a government he has labored all his life to sustain, and upholds a government that denies equality among its own people. Her people demanded concessions, and, under the influence of a mistaken zeal, or, if you please, fanaticism which Wilberforce taught them, this would be a concession to them; and, as this would satisfy the demand, the concession was made. Her statesmen saw it would not essentially impair the power of her rulers; and though it cost heavily and added to the public debt, if they did not act wisely they did well; for they knew instead of weakening the rulers, it only would add to the burdens of the people who forced the concessions, and who would themselves have it to pay for. I will not cavil about the meaning of such words as fanaticism, but we should endeavor to ascertain the true cause, and not place the effect for the cause, nor make the cause the effect. And, looking back upon the events of that period, one may reasonably conclude that by such a concession on the part of the rulers of France, at the proper moment, in regard to the slaves of San Domingo, the horrors of that island and of France, during the reign of terror, might have been averted. Now, the people of the North—I mean their leaders—in their efforts to avoid the calamities of France at the period referred to and those that threatened England, have sought to control the mis-

taken zeal of the masses which they have cultivated—first, as demagogues to attain position and to rob the South, but now really to abolish slavery in the South. To form an idea of the cause that impels them to seek this result, we must remember they had for years adopted a policy to rob and plunder the South, leading to a state of revolution and anarchy in its consequences among their own people. And when they adopted the principle that they would govern by the *will of the majority*—that their will and *not* the constitution should be the rule of their conduct in order to reach us, they overleaped the last barrier between themselves and anarchy.

In obedience to this rule of conduct the minority had to be sacrificed, and, under existing prejudices, the minority of slaveholders were destined to be the first victims. But the exercise of the right of *secession* prevented this fatal consequence—a consequence which, in the end, would have been fatal to the rights and liberties of us all. Now they find the owners of Fifth avenue palaces, of splendid equipages, of liveried slaves, and princely merchants and real estate owners, are the minority to be sacrificed. To avoid such a result can we be surprised in preference they wage war upon us, disregarding even its civilized rules, and make rapine and plunder, beauty and booty, their watch-word. The very men who perpetrate such crimes upon us would do the same upon their own people, if turned loose at home; and hence, if war be a calamity, anarchy is a far greater calamity—for *anarchy is death*.

"A universe of death, which God by curse
Created evil, for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fable yet have feign'd or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire."

There are times when necessity knows no law — when all considerations of material interests are discarded when a people cannot control their actions, and this I call the inexorable necessity that disregards everything but self-preservation; which is not, as is said, a law of our nature, for a law is founded upon reason; it is the instinct of our nature, and hence the inexorable necessity knows *no* law. The people of France, in the last century, adopted the will of the majority as the rule of their conduct. But conflicting interests were there, as everywhere else there will be, and the majority soon perceived they had but to will it to promote their own interests at the expense of the interests of the minority.

The minority was crushed, but power, always seeking its own aggrandizement, turned, and, in its turn, crushed the interests of the majority with the attributes with which it had been clothed by that very majority to crush the minority. Then followed scenes such as a state of anarchy alone can pre-

sent, until at last, "bleeding at every pore, France fled for protection to the sword of the practical man, Napoleon the Great." From what did she flee? From her majority government. And so, in our own day and time, when a second time the French people proclaimed the empire, it was not because they loved liberty less—not to preserve the rights and liberties of a free people—but to preserve law and order, and again repudiated a majority government. As the great commoner, Roanoke Randolph, said, one king is preferable to king numbers. The North have one chance of escape. War strengthens power while it enfeebles liberty, and if they can continue the war until the one-man government can be consolidated so as to preserve itself, they may escape from the horrors of king numbers, fleeing to one king. And now the solemn question here presents itself: if such be true, would it not be the height of folly and stupidity to think again of forming a connection with a people who, driven by the inexorable necessity, unable to control their own actions—unable to regard their material interests—prosecute against us a cruel and infamous war, and would cheerfully sacrifice everything to sacrifice us? The treason of Arnold could not have proved more fatal to his country. But a separation, final and complete, is not all. I cannot believe we have any right, in the nature of things, to look for protection from foreign powers in Europe. Nor can I say I should desire to see a war between England and the United States. After war comes peace, and how that peace may effect us we do not know. If we had a navy, we could conveniently fight the United States for years; and a navy we *must* have. I never wish to see the decision of 1812 and 1815 reversed, when the exultant voice of Calhoun, then music to us all, announced "the charm of British naval invincibility is gone." Wherever England extends her protection, there she plants the ensign of her dominion. If, as Mr. Calhoun says, causes will continue to operate, the effects of which must be to lead to demands for ameliorations in government, and as the South is the great *motor* power which drives the locomotive of progress and civilization, diffusing light and intelligence, tending to diminish the power of rulers and to elevate the ruled, and being the last and only home of liberty, we cannot hope to exist as a people long by *mere sufferance*. There is but one other spot where Great Britain can again make pretended concessions to her people by abolishing African slavery. But look at the result. Let us move onward in peace, and with an unfettered commerce, we will export 300,000,000, and buy 150, say 200,000,000—how long before the specie basis of trade and commerce of Europe would be transferred to the Confederate States? If, as I have heard it estimated, that basis is 800,000,000, in eight years it would be transferred to us. Not without a struggle to prevent it, be assured, will European

powers witness the result. Our position is grand—let us not forget it is isolated. There are many reasons why we should have a navy, and why we should exert all our energies to procure one. It is difficult to believe, with the resources at command, the government could have had no vessels to raise the blockade had it been alive to its importance. And if the blockade were raised, such vessels would be important to protect our coasts—for the end of the blockade will not, of necessity, be the end of the war. A sound currency I believe now is almost vital to a good government; and a good government is the greatest of earthly blessings. The men of '76 triumphed over all difficulties; but we are not the men of '76, and this is a greatly different period. Treasury notes, receivable as they are in government dues, will answer for a while; but there is one condition which anything that answers the purpose of a sound currency must fulfil—it must be convertible into coin. Expedients have been resorted to in order to avoid this condition, and they have been many—yet all have failed.

I understand Mr. Calhoun's position in regard to treasury notes—they did better and were cheaper than loans negotiated through banks and capitalists, giving them the profits; and I understand his position in his speech in '34, on Mr. Webster's proposition to recharter the United States bank, and again in '37, upon banks. His views confirm what I say; and as we can get the specie only in exchange for our productions, it is of vital importance that we look for and get a navy at least to insure us an outlet for our productions. It is too late for an embargo policy—it could only have tested the strength of our staples, which the sham blockade has more effectually done and been found wanting, as a guaranty of our safety and independence. I believe, if called upon, the resources of our people and their patriotism are equal to the demand. The credit of our government will be tried severely, to supply its necessities even; but if one half we hear of the venality and corruption, speculation and peculation of government officers at Richmond be true, and such contracts are made as we understand, at Chattanooga, where the government, after giving 11½ cents gross for pork give the offal to the packers, and require only 40 lbs. of bacon for every 100 of pork, we may be assured the government credit will be tried to its utmost tension. Millions go to contractors for nothing. And nothing will so soon open a prospect of peace and rid us of a standing army as a navy; and, being old fashioned, I believe, with our ancestors, the men of '76, that standing armies are hostile to liberty. Sometimes they do not allow people to control their own actions. But it will be said, all admit that a navy is desirable; but how to get one? I admit the difficulty. But no one knows what he can accomplish until he tries. The object is worth the effort, and if others saw it in the light I do, all who could contribute one

dollar would do so, if needed, for an honest and an earnest effort to that end. As I understand, the point in dispute between the United States and the Confederate States is not whether cotton shall be sent abroad, but whether sent through United States or Confederate States ports.

The United States have made foreign powers believe that cotton would be furnished them whenever they could open a cotton port. Now, if such be the case, why not sell and get vessels for the produce loan: for the subscribers, I conclude, would not object, and let it go through any port, for the loan is useless as matters now stand. Would the United States prevent the subjects of France and England from shipping cotton through Northern ports? We buy and the United States buy arms in Europe, that is certain. If the foreign powers desired the blockade raised and desired to avoid a war with the United States by raising it, would they not be glad to give us a chance to raise it ourselves. If they recognized us, surely this could be done. But do we believe the United States would go to war with foreign powers for raising the sham blockade? Not after the obsequious conduct on the part of the United States so recently exhibited. No; if war occurs, it will be England, not the United States, that makes it. May not other powers be, in like condition with the United States, forced to make war abroad to keep peace at home. But if we are driven to our own resources, are we in this more inferior to the United States now than the United States were to Great Britain in 1812? I think not; and if so, we can establish a navy. Where there is a will, there is a way. If we never begin, we shall never accomplish the undertaking; therefore, the sooner begun the better. The dread of the transfer of trade and commerce to the Confederate States, if a recognized people, with an unfettered commerce, in a few years, I believe has much more to do in continuing the sham blockade than is supposed. And if, indeed, the juncture of affairs we live in has been truly indicated, and the South, in virtue of her production, is the great impelling cause of demands upon governments for concessions to the people, we should labor for a navy in season and out of season, and labor with all our might for such vessels as will enable us, if not done sooner by others, to raise the blockade ourselves; and if the war continue, to protect our coast, and then to have vessels to protect our flag wherever it floats on the high seas. Then, and not till then, may we consider ourselves safe and independent. Especially should we engage in no undertaking which must necessarily cause the expenditure of immense sums, and which, if successful, will probably almost certainly result disastrously, if not occasion the overthrow and loss of liberty. And this brings me to the next question—Shall we assume in war the aggressive policy? Those in favor of aggression must take leave of the *volunteer*

system. It must be so. Jackson himself, in a war purely defensive, experienced difficulties as to expiration of the enlistment periods of his men. In the enemy's country we must have men *for the war*. The necessity of this, if doubts were entertained, was made manifest during the Mexican war. And because I see this, and think I see fatal consequences beyond, I am unalterably opposed to a war of invasion.

Men, honest and patriotic, differ. Let us remember, too, the enemy has every position he had at the start, except Sumter, and many others which he then had not, and some of them on the seaboard, which we cannot defend for want of a navy; and, I ask, is not *that* the arm to be strengthened, and should we not expend on that the cost of campaigns in the enemy's country? But, while I am for the defensive policy, I am not for the *do-nothing* policy. I am for the policy that meets danger on the frontier. If I mean to defend my house, I shall try to meet the enemy at the threshold, and not allow him to enter and punish those who are true, and incite to treason those who are false. If the enemy invades my soil I'd find him, and when I found him I'd fight him. I would not keep an army, all eager for the fray, looking upon a land I felt bound to redeem from oppression, and for months to see her cities beleaguered, her land devastated, her men disfranchised and imprisoned, and her women outraged, and yet do nothing. Especially when her sons had fought under my banners, and when where they fought there the enemy's dead were piled the highest. If I could not extend to Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri protection for their loyalty, it should not be said the failure of protection resulted from supineness and inaction. If I had troops to defend a state, they should understand they were not *defending the state* by simply *defending themselves*. And when I won victories, they should not be barren and fruitless in results. If forced to retreat before the enemy upon my own soil, I would, if I could, leave it as a waste, howling wilderness rather than he should find a comfortable residence there or the means of subsistence. If I found prominent men within my country giving to the enemy aid and comfort, I would not trust to reform them by gentleness. I would Bastille or hang them, so that the ignorant and innocent—innocent because of their ignorance—should not be subject to penalties for crimes which their abettors lacked only the courage to perpetrate. I would attack on the frontiers of the enemy any point, if I could, and demolish it where he sought to concentrate troops to annoy or to invade and lay waste my country. And all this is strictly defensive. And, therefore, as for the purpose last named Washington city was used, I cannot see why it was not attacked and its public buildings demolished after the battle of Manassas. It is said the want of the means of transportation prevented. But this seems strange: for we know that Jackson, the volunteer

general, with six or twelve months men, marched through a wilderness country, cut his road and built his bridges, whipped the Indians as he went, and at New Orleans achieved a victory over troops not Yankees, but troops renowned the world over for their valor. And when we look at the result, may we not doubt if the defect be so much in the system as in the *leaders*. Again; it is said we could not afford to lose the men we should have lost in the attack. Have we not since lost more from disease? It is also said the value of the public buildings was too large an item for settlement on the return of peace. DESTRUCTION is the business of war. If we have to compensate for all we destroy, why sanction privateering? Who can restore our fallen heroes to life? Who can compensate for the crimes and cruelties perpetrated upon our innocent people? But why this solicitude about the public buildings? Why undertake to get possession of Arlington and Georgetown heights—the defences of Washington—unless to force McClellan to a field fight, satisfied we could whip him or force him to capitulate, and thus get possession of the city, and save the public buildings? Was the solicitude in preserving the public buildings for the purpose of removing there the seat of government, as it was from Montgomery to Richmond, because Maryland would be the scene of operations, and thus have our president elect inaugurated upon the very steps of the Washington capitol? The idea is fascinating, if not romantic. But, while it might flatter the ambition of a Cæsar, it would be no temptation to one possessed of the lineaments of the Father of his country. Are we to read in this solicitude about the public buildings, *reconstruction*? Would not their destruction have proclaimed, far and near, deep and wide, SEPARATION now and forever? Without reconstruction, I ask, what would they be worth to either side? If we could have taken it—and of this there seems no doubt—and could not have held it, by destroying them the abolition government would no longer be known as the government of Washington, a name they disgrace. When those who defiled and polluted the Temple at Jerusalem were whipped and scourged and driven away, although by our Saviour, those who afterward entered continued to defile and pollute it, and it was demolished, leaving not one stone upon another; so should have been demolished the Washington capitol. We might then have breathed freer and breathed deeper. But the aggressive policy, why adopt it? To conquer a peace! It is one thing to say it, another to do it—but how to do it so as to preserve liberty, is the great question. Many, burning under a sense of wrong, are ready for anything that can make the enemy feel the hand of the oppressor, the sting of the invader. They would lay waste and destroy. If, however, the war is to be one of mutual destruction, it will be endless. But I take it its advocates are for conquering a peace; and let us recollect a wise remark:

"men can put things in motion, but cannot always control them." If successful, we must, after we get into the enemy's country, buy our supplies, for we could not carry them; and if we did, it would cost us as much as to buy them. I say, we should have to get supplies in one way or the other. If we undertake to quarter upon the enemy, to take subsistence without pay, it would be as with the French in the Peninsular war. As the army could not go for provisions, foraging parties would; and would they return? It is admitted, the finest army ever marshaled in the heart of a hostile country would fade away like snow before the sunshine under the partisan and guerilla system. If we bought from the enemy or furnished our own supplies, the expense would bankrupt our treasury, and our people, too, if long persisted in. If, for the want of transportation, our army could not move from Manassas to Washington, what will the necessary transportation not cost to go into the heart of the enemy's country?

If successful, it might result in reconstruction or conquest. If reconstruction followed even by the adoption of the Confederate constitution, it has no guaranties for rights and liberties not in the United States constitution, and the result would be the victors would become the vanquished, as in the Mexican conquest, and we would not be allowed to occupy the country we now hold only as the equals of slaves, and slaves where we were equals. If it result in conquest, what shall we do with the conquest? The whole country shrunk from the idea of governing Mexico as a conquered province. It would be to subvert the foundation of our government, founded as it is upon the consent of the governed. It would bring with it such a train of abuses and corruption that the government could not survive. I know those for aggression mean to conquer a peace, and think it would be easy because the Lincoln government is weak, and, therefore, easily overthrown. *There is the danger.* If overthrown, with whom would you make peace. Do you believe peace could be extorted from Lincoln? It would cost him and his cabinet, if not more, their heads. Do you believe you could strengthen a peace party, who would gain the ascendancy, and make peace? And if so, in how long a time? Not without upsetting the government before Lincoln's term expires. But do you believe you could find a party for that purpose who could get power under the imputation of sympathy with the enemy who had invaded their country, and were giving him aid and comfort? If so, low, indeed, are they sunk. Far lower than the Mexicans, degraded as we consider them, because Mr. Polk proposed the absurdity of establishing in Mexico a free government by a military despotism, and force them to live under it so that he might make a treaty of peace, for those in favor of it dared not to make the avowal. And if such party for us did succeed, would not that itself open the

door to reconstruction; if unsuccessful, could we desert our friends? This, then, is the state of the case. A war of invasion, if successful to accomplish the desired result, would bankrupt the treasury; and, if long-continued, also the people. And might, if successful, lead to far more disastrous consequences. And then it might be unsuccessful; and if so, all would say it had better not been undertaken. I invite those who favor this policy to review the events of the Mexican war, and to read the speeches of Mr. Calhoun on the 16th and 17th of March, 1848, and those of a kindred character. The history of this is recent, and, therefore, I invite attention to it, not because other histories of wars aggressive are uninstructional. I ask those who favor aggression, to answer if they do not know all this talk about conquering a peace from Mexico was not intended to disguise a desire for expansion, for conquest, conveyed under such slang as we could swallow the whole of Mexico? And can they consider that a safe precedent, where we so narrowly escaped the most fatal consequences? No, not escaped. The disruption of the government foretold as likely to follow has actually occurred, and we have yet to solve the question whether the other fear entertained by Mr. Calhoun, not only the last but the noblest Roman of them all, shall be realized—the loss of liberty. After reviewing these events, not by the brilliant light of splendid victories, but in the sober light of reason and truth, say, ought a people to sanction a policy merely for the idea of conquering a peace, with whom *liberty is all in all, and with whom the one great object is to conquer a peace so as to preserve liberty, without which peace would not be worth its conquest?* If peace be the leading, the paramount object with the people of the Confederacy, they can get it to-morrow, although by Lincoln's proclamation the time is up for peaceable submission, and, perhaps, they might adopt the Confederate constitution for the sake of peace on the other side; but if we have honesty, or truth, or self-respect left us, war in comparison would be, indeed, a blessing. For years past, the states North and South have been in a *quasi* state of war, because that people would not or could not respond to the obligations of a constitutional form of government adopted by our ancestors. If the spirit of liberty still lives among them, they will come to a sense of their obligations, from the fact of the separation show a sense of their material interests; if not, it will require a government that rules by force, which, if they can establish and avert anarchy—for after anarchy and revolution it will be established—and that government to preserve itself will enforce its obligations upon its people, and show a proper regard for its material interests, and then the obligations of a peace by them would be respected. Of course, the sooner such a result can take place the better for them and for us. I have thought, from the time the announcement was made in Montgomery, the ag-

gressive policy would, if possible, be adopted. Whether the do-nothing policy has been followed for the purpose of disgusting one with the true defensive policy, I cannot say. The announcement was, before long the Confederate flag should float, mind you, not over the ruins, but from the dome of the Washington capitol, and if that did not satisfy the abolition government it would be carried still farther north. If I thought so, I would say it; but I do not believe the president, or any of our leaders, desires to strike liberty. Yet so said Anthony of Cæsar. Cæsar did not murder liberty but from necessity—a conviction honestly entertained by many—and whether real or supposed, upon its ruin he established a military despotism. The practical question with us is not whether was Brutus justified in slaying Cæsar, but whether he and the true men should have permitted the policy of aggressive wars, and other measures leading to such a necessity, as it certainly is ours now to labor in season and out of season to avert a catastrophe which, if averted, will render unnecessary the repetition of the plea which justified Cæsar and the tragedy enacted by Brutus. The elder Brutus, more fortunate, not more worthy, not truer, struck down the tyrant to *achieve* liberty and triumphed, while the younger struck down the tyrant to *preserve* liberty; but, alas, *too late!* Let it never be forgotten, it is one thing to achieve liberty, but ours is the far more difficult one—its preservation. I will say, however, what I do believe: if an aggressive policy be adopted, and the measures advocated during the Mexican war by our president be carried out, and he exercise the powers himself as president which he claimed for Mr. Polk, nothing could be more fatal to liberty—and so will any unprejudiced mind believe. The concomitants of a successful war of invasion are victories, conquest, a love of power, a love of dominion; of a defensive war, are devotion to homes and firesides, a love of country, a love of liberty.

ART. V.—MOTLEY'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.*

In a previous paper—"The Rise of the Dutch Republic"—it was regretted that the author had stopped at the wrong point. We have to express the same regret in the work before us, which concludes with the year 1590, though the author promises to bring it, in two additional volumes, down to the year 1618, at which time was convened the Synod of Dort; after which it is his wish, at a future day, to write the history of that

* History of the United Netherlands, from the death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort. By John Lathrop Motley, LL.D., D.C.L. 2 vols. Harper & Brothers, New York. 1861.

eventful period, the history of the thirty years war, which broke out in Germany, and was finally brought to a close by the great treaty of Westphalia, in 1647, whereby the rights of the United Provinces were secured, as it was supposed and designed to be, in the simplest and firmest manner. We not only regret the dividing points the author has again selected; but, notwithstanding the minute and voluminous work which is promised, it will, after all, be left unfinished, as respects the history of the united provinces, subsequent to the treaty of Westphalia. We agree that this treaty established a turning point in the history of a large portion of Southern Europe, when the conflict of arms between Spain and the low countries was hushed, and free and commercial intercourse prevailed between those nations whose previous history for more than three quarters of a century had been one constant flow of blood—one unsuspended clash of arms; but it will occur to the historic student that many pages of yet unarraigned history ought to be collected and written, about the progress and the destiny of the once united seven provinces since the treaty of Westphalia; hence the reading public will regret that Motley's great work will, after all, be but a huge and unfinished fragment of that part of European history, the most important in fixing the fate of modern empires, and stamping the character of society, morally, socially, intellectually and politically, which has ever occurred in modern times; but that it will leave a desideratum, which, from the specimens we have of Motley as a historian, we think he alone, of the great living authors, either in England or America, could best supply.

It is no part of a just criticism to find unnecessary fault with an author, or inconsistent with its several demands to present the fullest praise when merited. In a former paper, we have acknowledged the high claims Motley has presented as a historian. In the first work he published, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," the style and method were eminently adapted to the subject—being one replete with stirring events, and bold and chivalrous character; consequently, a fair opportunity was presented for the display of that brilliant descriptive writing which abounds in the first work, and gave it a most deserved popularity.

In the work now before us, there is an occasional indulgence of the same talent, especially in the description of the second siege of Antwerp—the heroic defence, the awful suffering, the minute description of scene and event, with the presentation of person and character, are all grouped and connected with a master's hand. But as a general subject for rhetorical display, the author had not the same wild, exciting and romantic field in the history of the United Netherlands as in "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," though war, bloody and unrelenting, darkens the whole scene.

Here, he had to address himself to a more serious and laborious historical labor, with all the intricate mazes of that complicity which belongs to the history of a nation standing on the slippery slopes of governmental inauguration, before its independence *de facto* was established, and surrounded with all the intricacies of diplomacy, which especially beclouded international communication and intercourse in the days of Philip II, Queen Elizabeth and the Henries of France. In the history of the United Netherlands—and we have but two volumes, of 532 and 563 pages, confined to the brief period of six years, from 1584 to 1590—the author has discarded in a great measure that captivating and thrilling descriptive writing which we have noticed in his Dutch Republic, and become a most laborious and, in some instances, a painfully tedious chronicler of unimportant transactions, which serve rather to encumber the page and weary the reader than to illustrate, to adorn, or to dignify grave and philosophic history. For example, refer to the many pages occupied in the whimsical quarrel between Elizabeth and the friends of Leicester, after he assumed the office of Governor of the Netherlands—all of which deserved but a brief notice, as it all amounted to nothing, for the queen subsided into a good humor after a while, and loved the earl as much as ever. Then, again, more time is taken up to prove that Queen Elizabeth was parsimonious, even to meanness, which no one even doubted, than if the famous woman had been indicted and tried for some grave offence. Then, again, a quarrel occurs in a drunken frolic at Hollock's apartment at the Hague; Hollock strikes Norris with the cover to a silver vase, and every word uttered during this drunken frolic is copied *verbatim* into a grave history. These may be in themselves small evils; but when repeated too often, it becomes a serious fault in the historian. Our author excuses himself for occupying so much space on so short a period, by the significance of events, and their results for future ages, embraced between the years 1584 and 1590. The events of this period were in themselves of no greater significance than those which transpired after 1590 down to 1647; for, after 1590, among other important events, were the comparative demolition of the Spanish empire, the sacking of Corunna, and the threatened seizure of Lisbon by the English; the death of Philip II, in 1598; the advancement to the Spanish throne of his son, Philip III, who, being too stupid for a monarch, gave himself up entirely to the direction of the duke, Serma, who, without talent, had prudence and moderation, as was indicated by the early ratification of peace with France, and the abandonment of the insane idea of Philip II, of constantly fanning the flame of civil war in France, between the rival houses of Navarre and Valois; and, also, the peace with England, which brought about a truce with the low countries, which, after continuing for

twelve years, resulted in the acknowledgement of the independence of the Netherlands; and the death of Elizabeth, in 1603, may be considered as important events, occurring between 1590 and 1618, as any that occurred between 1584 and 1590, for within the latter period the most significant events were the alliance of the Netherlands with England, and the organization of what the author styles the "Dutch commonwealth" in 1588.

Motley is, unquestionably, an eminent historian; he has industry, which prompts him to labor; he has acquired extensive attainments in the various paths of literature; appears to gather every fact, and to consult every source from which knowledge can be obtained in reference to the subjects on which he writes; he has a clear and distinct style, which, at times, is beautiful and tinged with some of the purest rhetoric; his arrangement is methodical, and he pursues the narrative with fidelity; yet, he appears to lack some qualifications inseparable from the most eminent historians; he may state facts accurately, but he dogmatizes too much, and scarcely ever rises to the true dignity of the philosophy of history; he narrates incessantly, except when he falls into description of scene or person, and, when the narrative ends, he glides with great regularity into succeeding narrative; but in vain will the reader look for the high moral principle, the deep and serene deductions of philosophy, which spring from and entwine themselves around the mighty actions of conflicting nations, after the storms of revolutions have passed away.

He is not unmindful of great events, of decisive action in nations and individuals, yet he passes on with the historic current, gathers up everything with the minuteness of a reporter, whether a trivial conversation or the sanction of an important treaty; whether the siege of a commercial city or the cutting of an officer's face with a piece of a silver vase, and relates them all with the same indefatigable minuteness. Another defect is patent upon the page of Motley: he looks too exclusively to the military portion of history; and in describing battles, manœuvres and sieges, he is not even excelled by Napier, but he neglects the civil and literary parts of history; it is true he follows up the dark and hidden paths of diplomacy with skill and subtilty, and enters with alacrity into party politics and personal intrigues, but great questions of constitutional and national law, great questions of jurisprudence, their decisions, their influence upon civil and diplomatic history, are but slightly touched, if not ignored.

In his delineations we have no doubt he is truthful in the statement of facts, but he is an ardent admirer, or bitter hater; in his sketches of prominent characters, a department of literary composition in which he excels, he would be matchless did he not allow his feelings to get the upper-hand of him, by

which he makes them either the very best or meanest of characters. This enthusiasm will adorn the page of a writer with many gems, but the impartial historian should paint every feature with accuracy—the best and most brilliant characters are not perfect, the meanest of mankind may not have every feature of mind and morals blackened and distorted; in other words, we would have Motley more analytic in his personal description, but we are far from thinking that he designs the slightest injustice, for we do him the honor to say he writes like an honest and honorable man, as no doubt he is; liberal, just, generous, but ardent and impetuous; quick to conceive and strong in his feelings, wherever moral worth is found or deflection from a high and pure standard of morality is involved.

The first important topic which we notice in the work before us, is the condition of the Netherlands after the death of William the Silent, who was emphatically the guiding star of the nation; but whatever might have been the destiny of this people, it is not admitted, according to the caption of chapter 1, part vi, 3 vol. Dutch Republic, that “a republic was born” or a nation was severed. If we look to the pages of Motley's Netherlands, there is ample proof that the Netherlands were neither *de facto* or *de jure* independent; and, at a future time, we may institute the inquiry, how far the Dutch Republic was constitutionally a republic.”

At the time of the death of William the Silent, it was not a republic, nor is it made to appear at the commencement of Motley's History of the Netherlands, nor did it become such in its administrative capacity, or the true practical sense of the word, as far as his history has yet extended. We do not mean to dispute with the author about terms, but it is evident the Netherlands were not only in terms far from either understanding the phrase or enjoying the state, not only of *sovereignty* but of a *republic*, when time after time, mission after mission, application after application was made to Queen Elizabeth to accept the sovereignty of the country, territory and people all included. The same application had been made to France, had been urged upon France, but her domestic troubles were such that it was refused. The great patriots and statesmen of the Netherlands were nearly unanimous, not only for the English alliance after the refusal of France, but sought that close connection with England which would transfer the *sovereignty* of the country to Queen Elizabeth. This the queen positively and unequivocally refused. Then a proposition was made for a defensive alliance. The queen, though urged by repeated applications from the Netherlands and importuned by Walsingham, Leicester, and others high in influence at the court, to accede to the request of the Netherlands, and grant them assistance, debated with herself long and anxiously; and, though it was to her interest, and ultimately proved the most

advantageous alliance perhaps ever made by England, our author does not appear to enter sufficiently into the feelings of Elizabeth in her long hesitancy. Let it be remembered that, at that time, the annual revenue of England was not more than five hundred thousand pounds, nor her population more than four millions; Ireland and Scotland held by the frailest tenure, both ready for revolt; and Philip, the wealthiest and most powerful monarch in Europe, threatening the extinction of the English empire, and the reader will see the awful consequences that menaced the queen.

A war with Philip was inevitable. He had sworn vengeance against Protestantism the world over, and if Elizabeth undertook the cause of the Netherlands, she undertook the cause of Protestantism; and upon the settlement of the international affairs of France, she, too, might be arrayed against England and the Netherlands, as the sole defenders of the Protestant religion. History must do Elizabeth, then, this justice, too long denied, that in entering into alliance with the Dutch, no sovereign ever faced a more dreadful threatening, or displayed more unalloyed heroism. But the step was taken, never to be retraced, and the consequences have left a lasting and ineffable glory upon England, and a benefit upon mankind, as brilliant and as extensive as the Protestant religion. Wherever man is free, and in quiet enjoyment of the eternal principles of liberty, wherever tyranny, bigotry and persecution has been hushed and forever buried, wherever the Bible is read and God worshipped in that freedom and purity of conscience which springs from an uncorrupted religion, there will its votary cherish the recollections of that contest which drove Philip from the Netherlands, and planted the true seeds of liberty amidst the dykes and lagoons of Holland and the United Provinces. England herself reaped immeasurable advantages therefrom. Elizabeth, though Protestant, was bigoted and intolerant; and it was from the political school of William the Silent that English statesmen learned political and religious toleration. It was from the United Provinces that England caught, by happy contact, the principles that inaugurated the revolution of 1688; banished forever the cruel and relentless Stuart from the English government, and finally achieved a bloodless revolution, which placed a Hanoverian line in permanent and prosperous reign upon the English throne.

But, to return to the history before us. After Elizabeth had promised and sent substantial aid and comfort to the Dutch, she exhibited much parsimony, and even meanness, in withholding supplies. Never was greater suffering, greater endurance, than was exhibited by the English and Dutch soldiery; but, unclad, almost starving, the poor soldiers and officers stood to their duty. Had the queen exhibited any administrative capacity, she could have ended this contest years sooner; but

her ineffable stinginess worked a long delay, a heavier expenditure, and vastly increased suffering. For the purpose of effecting the proposed end of the alliance, the queen, under the importunities of the Dutch commissioners, sent a person of quality to reside among them, and the Earl of Leicester was selected. Since the queen had refused to accept the sovereignty, what was the pressing necessity for this last request of the states? Let our author answer: "*The sovereignty*, which had been held by the estates, ready to be *conferred* respectively upon Anjou and Orange, remained in the hands of the *estates*. There was no opposition to this theory" (p. 11, vol. i). We will show that there was, however, decided opposition to it. At another place, he says: "Since the death of William the Silent, there was no one individual in the Netherlands to impersonate the great struggle of the provinces with Spain and Rome, and to concentrate upon his own head a practical, dramatic, and yet most legitimate interest" (p. 314, vol. i). This is rather a vague and indefinite exposition of sovereign power, which we find expressed in more statesmanlike terms, by Joos de Menin, pensionary of Dort, and one of the envoys to England, who, in the name of his associates, delivered an address to the queen, in which he said: "Since the death of the Prince of Orange, the states have lost many important cities, and now, for the preservation of their existence, they have need of a prince and sovereign lord to defend them against the tyranny and iniquitous oppression of the Spaniards and their adherents, who are more and more determined utterly to destroy their country" (vol. i, p. 318).

Again: Leicester is sent to the Netherlands, with the limited military authority of commander-in-chief over four thousand English soldiers. The Netherland envoys in England, in their parting advice, most distinctly urged him "to hold authority with the first, to declare himself chief-head and governor-general" of the whole country. The sequel not only proves the secret purposes of the earl, but the feeling and sentiments of the estates. The offer of governor-general was pressed upon him—an office involving the highest civil and military powers. The earl hesitated, only because he knew the wrath of the queen would be kindled at his treachery, his duplicity, and the assumption of powers incompatible with her own dignity, as well as transcending the range of his mission. It was forbidden fruit, but he yielded to the tempter. His own wicked heart urged him forward; he clutched the bait, and was inaugurated governor-general of the united provinces of Guelderland, Zutphen, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, and all others in confederacy with them. It has been said that it was the highest civil and military office known to the confederacy; and, indeed, was it an alarming growth of power. He was to have supreme military command by land and sea. He was to

exercise supreme authority in matters civil and political, according to the customs prevalent in the reign of the Emperor Charles V. All officers, civil and military, were to be appointed by him, and the states general were to assemble whenever and wherever he should summon them. The reader can readily draw the conclusion, from the above facts, that the provinces had no correct idea of popular sovereignty; and, as will be subsequently shown, but a feeble sense of true republican liberty at this time, notwithstanding the constant recurrence of the word *republic*, not only in Motley, but even Macaulay, whenever he writes of the character of the Netherland government.

We are highly pleased with the clear and decided picturing of the character of Leicester; but the author has almost, if not entirely, overlooked the most prominent feature in the life of this house-plant of royal favor, that withered beneath the frown of the inconstant and variable queen, or shrank from the colder blast of the popular breath; which prominent feature was indicated by the radical change he attempted to introduce into the political and constitutional organization of the government of the Netherlands, by receiving the appointment to the high and unwarrantable authority of governor-general by the representatives of the states, who, though they transcended every license, yet introduced the anomalous instance of popularizing it among the provinces, in the very face of the organic principles of the revolution. We think it also apparent, that the author, whether deficient or not in that power of analysis inseparable from a great and masterly historian, has failed to exhibit the difference in the principles which existed in the body politic of England and the Netherlands, as well as in their respective governments, which *per se*, wide apart and repellant, were only united under a pressing and absolute necessity of self-preservation. Elizabeth was Protestant, and so were a vast majority of the people; but the crown and the popular sentiment were intolerant—the very antipodical doctrine and sentiment of the Netherlands, who, imbibing the principles which constituted the corner-stone of the Orange party, proclaimed toleration as the guiding star of liberty. The English were as free at home as they then desired, and Queen Elizabeth had no feeling in common with the struggling Netherlanders on that score. She hesitated long before joining them, and her intrigues with Philip II to procure a peace were based upon the true apprehension that he designed the total overthrow of her kingdom, whether she made common cause or not with the low countries. With the perception and under the conviction of this truth, urged by the calm and clear foresight of Walsingham, which was realized by the equipment of the falsely styled “invincible armada,” she then directed the energies of her mind and the strength of her kingdom to the relief of the Netherlands. She was compelled to blend the maintenance of

the Protestant religion and the liberties of the provinces with the preservation of her kingdom, because Philip, in designing to extinguish that religion on earth, determined to use Catholicism as the most powerful incentive to the prostration of the English crown; and it was thus, indirectly, that the Protestant cause became the rallying cry of resistance to Philip, who, had he not used Catholicism as a great political engine by which he was to work his way to universal dominion, would never have encountered the dread trident that for the first time in Europe proved that England was mistress of the seas. It is not that we object to the position of the author, that the great contest was that of the Catholic religion against the Protestants, after the war was fully inaugurated, but that in common with other writers he appears to fall into the prevalent error that it was the great issue of that period. We agree it became the most important question that then agitated, or ever did or could agitate the world; but it became so secondarily. Elizabeth would never have strained her every nerve in its support, had not Philip determined to make war on her own kingdom; and the early dread of this forced her to an alliance with the Netherlands, obviously against her inclinations. We are not to be understood as depreciating or underrating the Protestant cause, which was the very ark of God; and, though buffeted by many an angry and fiery wave of revolution, contained in security the priceless pearl which alone can decorate in its purest splendor the fadeless crown of liberty, whether it decks a monarch brow or glistens along the pathway of republican freedom. But, we are constrained to say that Motley, as a philosophic historian, devoted as he should have been to the tracing of cause and effect, intent upon the analysis of great principles, with rich material around him, has failed to present the manner in which this contest developed itself into the great cause of a true Christian religion—the spirit in which a wicked and godless queen was forced from political circumstances to lend the material and intellectual powers of her kingdom to prevent the church of God from sinking again beneath the dark, the tempestuous and the dreadful billows of superstition, persecution and tyranny; and, in failing to do this, he has not presented a true history of the political and social exigency and purpose of the English government, or the primary motives of the woman whose strong though capricious will guided its machinery.

In reading the pages of Motley, it will also be observed that he has omitted to treat, as it demanded at his hands, the very important influence of the sudden disrobing of the earl of his supreme authority, and his unceremonious departure from the shores of Holland.

It is true he busies himself with a careful report of a dispute between Wilkes, the advocate of the Leicestrian school, who

held the doctrine of the sovereignty of the governor, who, it was contended with but little wisdom, derived his power from sovereign states, which he was afraid and unable to rule. The great and rugged Barneveldt, who with threatening voice and majestic lion port dissolved the metaphysical web of Wilkes, yet in defending the sovereignty of the states or the government, he seemed, in connection with Franck and others, to have destroyed the doctrine of popular sovereignty; and herein consist the defect of the very school which would make the Netherlands free—here were planted the evil seeds of the policy of the Leicestrian party, which forced their opponents, in the endeavor to break down the false position of the sovereignty of the governor-general, to assume the principles that located it in the states, and as effectually grasped it and wrenched it from the hands of the people, although it had been exercised by the governor-general himself, for it was from the states, in formal assembly, that he obtained and claimed his authority. It was a destructive position into which the crafty earl had wound himself, and an equally destructive one by which his opponents would unwind the robe of power in which he enveloped his authority. There were some things good and true said by Barneveldt and other representatives of the states, especially in reference to the doctrine that the states respected the difference in religious opinions; leaving all churches in their freedom, they chose to leave man's conscience unfettered—this was the doctrine of toleration which was born and nurtured on the soil of the United Provinces, and grew to manhood and strength amidst the storms of the revolution, whose violence sent it deep into the heart of society, as the storms of the outer world drive deep into the soil of the earth the roots of the stubborn oak, while its green and spreading branches are pointing to the heavens. But, is it not perceptible that the doctrine of the opponents of Leicester, of the opponents of what they dreaded, a strong government, were falling into the artful meshes of the deep, dark intriguer, who, doubtless, saw with satanic grin that in giving sovereignty to the government they were robbing the same party upon whom he would himself depredate—the people; and thus these men, able statesmen, honest and upright as they were, dealt a severe blow to the cause which they would sacrifice property and life to sustain. And we will presently show the truth of this remark, by tracing the elevation of Morice to the stadtholdership to be attributed to the very principles started by the Leicestrian school, and, unfortunately unchecked by his adversaries, who looked upon the earl, as he was, the most dangerous man in the whole country.

At the period about which Motley has written, the entire fabric of society in Europe—social, moral and political—was shaken to its very centre. The little revolt, which started in the Netherlands, awoke and excited principles which involved

not only European thrones, but the happiness, the peace, the destiny of Christendom; but more closely affiliated with the revolt was the political philosophy of England, France and Spain. The events of the period present a full and rich subject for the speculations of the historian—replete with lessons of wisdom for national instruction. What warnings for the future statesmen is presented in the wild and cruel ambition of Philip, whose madness gathered around him those most furious storms which not only shattered his realm, but were the monitors of that national degradation and social corruption which has followed the Spanish government for nearly three centuries, as the just wages of a career of sin and turpitude. There was France, her nationality almost torn into tatters by intestine broils, between the contesting Henries, with the powerful array of Philip's minions and mercenaries ready, at a moment's notice, to invade her soil, subjugate her realm, and banish her from the family of nations. It is stern and truthful history that the impending absolute ruin of France was almost at the point of consummation, and, had Philip struck a blow while the rival houses of Guise and the Bernean had paralyzed every limb of the nation in the contest between Henry of Navarre and Henry of Valois, the extinction of France would have been at hand. There, too, in the very midst of the contest, sat anxious and trembling England, her fate resting upon the dancing wave that bore the Spanish fleet to her imperilled shores. But a little way off, the struggling, restless, brave, defiant, unconquerable United Provinces were bearing the brunt of that contest which saved Europe and upheld, amidst every shock, the cause of Protestantism and the purest altars of liberty. Here was a grand grouping of nations, a mighty confluence of events, which, in grandeur and importance, have scarcely ever been witnessed among men—the light of whose influence has radiated the earth, whose reflex is modern civilization. But, Motley has been too much occupied with court gossip and transient diplomatic talk to arrange in proper order and present in the graphic dignity they deserve, these grand materials for philosophic history. It is surprising he did not. The rise of the Dutch republic, and the subsequent history of the Netherlands, afford the true basis of such history. The English writers have failed to embrace its spirit; the French historians have passed it by with comparative indifference, while Spanish authors have had neither the disposition nor the ability to do it justice.

In sketches of personal character, as we have remarked, the author is eminently clear, and, generally, just and accurate; yet, it is impossible to agree with him in his estimate of the character and motives of Saint Aldegonde, of whom he thus writes, in allusion to the course pursued and sentiments expressed by Walsingham, Davidson and others, about the Eng-

lish courts, as to the propriety of his arrest and confinement: "This was, however, a result somewhat difficult to accomplish; for twenty years of noble service in the cause of liberty had not been utterly in vain, and there were many magnanimous spirits to sympathize with a great man struggling thus in the meshes of adversity." That Aldegonde was a man of vast and varied learning, united with eminent talent, all admit; but that he was a great man, a good man, or a wise statesman, it is hard to believe, after an examination of his character and policy, as portrayed even by the author himself, from whom we learn that he was a devout Protestant, as he verily appeared to be, and a devotee to liberty, as he pretended to be; yet his constant hatred of England not only forced him to oppose a union of the provinces with the only Protestant country in the world, and the only one which could aid the Protestant cause, but actually drove him to seek and urge an alliance with Catholic France, under the rule of a factious, intolerant, bigoted persecutor of Protestants. And when this proposition was rejected by France, he would sacrifice "twenty years of noble service in the cause of liberty," by his constant and pertinacious effort to restore the Protestant provinces to the dominion of Philip II, the vilest Catholic monarch, and the most unscrupulous slave to corrupt and heartless tyranny that ever cursed or degraded an European throne. It is said that Aldegonde must have been honest and sincere in his conduct, since he boldly demanded an investigation and a trial. It turned out that there was no evidence that could be procured in England, in reference to the bribery of this man by Philip II, and the subject was dropped. The absence of evidence can never remove a moral conviction, and what stupidity would be chargeable to this, among the most talented men of his day, to suppose him, late in life, doing everything in his power calculated to defeat the most strenuous exertions of his earlier years, without some inducement. Motley ascribes it to his hatred to England; yet he considers him a patriot who, to seek his vengeance on a foreign country, would urge to the last every step that would ruin his own, and prostrate every principle he, apparently, held dear. The reader may feel no interest in the personal history of Aldegonde, and it is of but little importance; yet it is evident Motley has fallen into a strange bewilderment in reference to him, and we only notice it as a defect in his history calculated to mislead the incautious reader.

The account our author gives of the great Spanish armada, and the minute, the comprehensive, yet distinct delineations of the battles that ensued, with all the various mutations of a mighty sea fight, is not only one of the finest pieces of work in the entire history, but, as far as it goes, as far, perhaps, as it purports to go, is unsurpassed by any historic description of naval battles in English history we have ever met with; it is

plain and simple, yet it presents the whole in a bold and graphic character.

The defeat of the Spanish armada, which occurred in 1588, was the most important event of the contest between Philip II and England. It was decisive; the power of Philip was broken; and, though he bore the result with apparent indifference, his hopes as well as his strength were gone. The author seems to be but slightly impressed with its awful consequences—not only holding the fate of empires upon the winds and waters, but the freedom, the happiness, the religion of millions, in the very grasp of tyranny and destruction. In the language of Hallam, it was “in that memorable year, when the dark cloud gathered round our coasts, when Europe stood by in fearful suspense to behold what should be the result of that great cast in the game of human politics; what the craft of Rome, the power of Philip, the genius of Farnese, could achieve against the island queen, with her Drakes and Cecils—in that agony of the Protestant faith and English name.”

It was yet a contest in which mind and valor were to triumph over mere animal strength; science and skill over numerical force. It is true, there were mighty ships which stretched out in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which spanned the ocean at a distance of seven miles apart; but what were these huge floating castles, clumsy and unwieldy, bearing thirty thousand soldiers, to fight a naval battle under the command of colonels of cavalry and generals of brigades who knew nothing of a sea fight or the command of a vessel, in comparison with even the thirty vessels of England, which danced upon the waves, and pelted on all sides the unwieldy hulks and galleons of the armada, who, in vain, attempted to grapple with the agile and light-winged foe, who damaged their sails and gearing and played off unharmed and untouched. What permanent danger could overhang England, when in comparison with the golden duke, a captain-general of the land forces; with Valdez; with Oquendo, mere generals in name; with Leyva, captain-general of the light horse of Milan; the old sea-girt isle was to be defended on the waters by such men as Sir Francis Drake, the first English navigator of the globe, the terror of every Spanish coast in the old as well as the new world; with Hawkins, the rough veteran of many a daring voyage on the African and American seas, experienced in fighting by many a desperate battle upon the ocean; with Frobisher, one of the earliest explorers of the Arctic seas; and Lord Admiral Howard, who is described as “being of a wise and noble courage, skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, and of great esteem among the sailors, resolved to risk his sovereign's anger, and to keep the ships afloat at his own charge rather than that England should run the peril of losing their protection.” It is a well vouched anecdote of the day, that on

the afternoon of the 19th of July, 1588, a match of bowls was being played at the bowling green, on the Hoe at Plymouth, in which Drake and some of the other distinguished sea kings were matched, when a small armed vessel was seen running before the wind into Plymouth harbor with all sails set. Her commander, named Fleming, master of a Scotch privateer, landed in haste and eagerly sought the place where the lord admiral was standing, and told the English officers that he had that morning seen the Spanish armada off the Cornish coast. The captains began to hurry down to the water, shouting for the ships' boats; but Drake coolly checked his companions, and insisted that the game should be played out, saying that there was sufficient time to win the game and then beat the Spaniards. The game was played out; they then went on board and prepared for action, soon to aim their guns calmly at the enemy, with hearts as light, and nerves as firm, as if still playing at the bowling green.

The two volumes of the history of the Netherlands close with the memorable events of 1588 and 1589, which not only witnessed the thorough defeat of the Spanish armada, and foretold the future wreck of the Spanish throne, but indicated, as the author justly remarks, that the great game of despotism against freedom would be transferred to the oft-distracted and turbulent soil of France. The condition of the political and military affairs of Europe assumed a new aspect, which, with the destruction of similar principles which had, in previous years, produced such volcanic effects, were destined not only to increase the fury of the populace, but the madness of the rulers. Elizabeth was involved in it, and furnished the new king of France with more money in gold than he had ever seen before in his life. Netherlands had provided him with as much more, while Willoughby, Roger Williams, Baskerville, Umpton and Vere, with 4,000 English pikemen, had already made a vigorous campaign in the cause of the Huguenots—the true and pious Protestants of France. We must, however, forbear a notice of these events, until favored with the future volumes of the author, who, we doubt not, will portray the mighty events which were to occur, with that methodic arrangement and brilliant style which has heretofore marked his writings.

The reader has also pictured to himself the rapid improvement of republican liberty in Holland, which would have had a fairer opportunity of developing itself, and perfecting a permanent political organization, while Parma, Philip and Mayenne were fighting the Bearnease for the crown of France. It was truly a period, when the shock of battles, and the conflict of every social and political element seemed to threaten the happiness and safety of man throughout Europe; and though Harry of Navarre stood firm and true to the Protestant cause, we turn with proud satisfaction to the position, the in-

fluence, the strength, of Elizabeth, whose kingdom was the great breakwater to the mighty tide of tyranny and Catholic usurpation that was rushing against the bulwarks of liberty: yet is the picture marred by the melancholy reflection, that the pernicious principles of the Leicestrian school, to which allusion has been made as still smouldering beneath a smothered fire, were to be again kindled; for, it must not be forgotten in this contest, that Prince Maurice, of whom more is to be said, after being made stadtholder, an unfortunate office, as it will appear, in the struggle of the Hollanders for liberty, the prince, becoming intoxicated with battles, sieges and victories, sought, in the delirium of an evil hour, another crown besides the laurels he had gathered. The title of the greatest general in Europe could not satisfy his ambition. He projected the destruction of the work accomplished by his father, the Prince of Orange, and tarnished the name and glory of a family devoted, by toil and suffering, to the cause of freedom, by raising a partial despotism on the bosom of liberty.

The most valuable and interesting portion of this historic field is yet to be surveyed by the author; and Maurice, the silent and studious boy, with less virtue than talent, under the misguided influence of his juvenile motto: *tandem fit surculus arbor*, had become a bold and active man, who did more by usurpation and tyranny to regard the principles of the republican party than had, in the first years of his career, been accomplished by his sword in repelling the enemies of his country; for, as he developed from the sapling to the oak, the full-grown tree drove its gnarled roots roughly and violently against every fibre of the scions of the young republic—an example, among many others, held up by the page of history to prove to freemen the danger of compromising with unjust principles of legislation, or creating in a republic an officer whose functions are not limited and defined by the plainest and firmest lines and boundaries.

We are anxious to examine the principles of civil liberty, as illustrated by the social and political organization of Holland, with its laws and constitution—those that were good and those that were productive of evil—to show from the practical manner in which the office of stadtholder was virtually transmitted, by hereditary lineage, to Frederick, the brother of Maurice, and upon the death of Frederick, to his only son, who was immediately invested with all the civil and military appointments exercised by his father; to show that there were inherent and congenital principles lurking in the body politic and clustering around the constitution, that prayed upon the vitals of liberty, which the people neither foresaw nor apprehended. But this would lead me to anticipate the author, and we prefer waiting until an opportunity is offered for an examination of the facts and views he may present in the promised two volumes yet to

be published, and bidding an adieu to Mr. Motley, we hope to meet him again on the pages of a friendly review, with the hope that he will present the reader with a minute and accurate narrative of the great events, and a spirited delineation of the great characters who will arise before him; but from what has been said above, the reader may not only anticipate some inability in the author to fulfil the requirements of a history of times so portentous and pregnant with the destiny of nations; and from his avowed radicalism, illy qualified to expound the grand and conservative philosophy upon which a good and wise government, of any form, can alone rest, and as equally disqualified to illustrate the nature and character of those destructive principles of society whose malarious breath has so often changed the principles of *republicanism* into a self-destructive *democracy*.

If circumstances shall delay access to Mr. Motley's promised continuation of the "Dutch History," we propose writing a paper upon the civil history of the United Provinces, subsequent to the time embraced in the work before us. It is the most interesting period of the Dutch history, the most instructive: nations learn more from civil history than from battles, revolutions open the door to national reform and progress, and we learn the philosophy of the social and political philosophy of a people when they are at peace.

If the author properly understands the history of Maurice, the despot, to whom he has already bestowed too much praise, he may use his information to the advantage of that government he now represents at a foreign court, and not only hold up, in advantageous light, the character of the man who, in becoming stadtholder in Holland, inflicted a stab upon constitutional liberty which should be a warning to the man who gave our author the lucrative post he now holds. But, if he fully appreciates the causes which combined to destroy the constitution of Holland, he may exhibit a lesson of practical wisdom to his deluded and demented fellow-citizens, who are destroying the constitutional liberty—we fear he does not appreciate or regard either as a patriot or a philosopher, as he shelters himself from the storm in the quiet alcoves of the luxurious libraries of the Prussian capital.

ART. VI.—DR. CARTWRIGHT REVIEWED—THE NEGRO, APE AND SERPENT.

Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright, of New Orleans, adopting Dr. Adam Clarke's conclusion that the creature which beguiled Eve was not a serpent, but walked erect, and was endowed with the gifts of reason and of speech, proceeds with arguments of his own, intended to prove that the creature was not of the

satyrus or simian kind, as Dr. Clarke supposed, but was a "negro gardener." These arguments are next in order, but, to facilitate a proper appreciation of Dr. Cartwright's reliability for care and accuracy in scrutinizing premises, eliminating conclusions, and laying results before his readers, it may be well to notice some of the nonlogical fallacies into which he has been seduced by an over-eager desire to support a cherished theory.

Dr. Cartwright attempts to magnify the importance of Dr. Clarke's conclusion, both as to its sources and its extent. First, as to the sources: he would enhance its value by stating that—

"Dr. Adam Clarke, the learned commentator of the Bible, from deep reading in the Hebrew, Arabic and Coptic languages, was forced to the conclusion that the creature which beguiled Eve was an animal formed like man, walked erect, and had the gift of speech and reason."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 130. August, 1860.*

Yet, from the beginning to the end of his voluminous commentary, Dr. Clarke does not bring to the support of that conclusion a single argument deduced from the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Coptic, or from any other language. He argues from the facts recorded by Moses, not from the words in which they are recorded. The *nachash* conversed with Eve: he concludes that it "was endued with the gift of speech." It reasoned and disputed with Eve: he concludes that it "was endued with the gift of reason." It was condemned to crawl: he concludes that it had previously "walked erect." All the premises are patent on the face of every *English* version of the Bible, and Dr. Clarke might have reasoned exactly as he did, without knowing a word beyond his mother tongue. He has, indeed, brought arguments from the Hebrew and Arabic, but they are adduced in support of two other entirely distinct conclusions, namely: first, that he was at liberty to seek some other word than "serpent" to convey the true sense of the Hebrew word *nachash*, which he proves by showing that that word had a great variety of meanings; secondly, not that the creature walked, spoke or reasoned, but that it was "of the ape or satyrus kind." However well read he may have been in the Coptic, a very careful scrutiny has failed to discover an instance in which that language is ever so remotely alluded to in connection with any branch of the subject under consideration.

Dr. Clarke reached the conclusion that the *nachash* was "of the ape or satyrus kind," by divers arguments, one of which is derived in part from the Hebrew, and one from the Arabic. The Hebrew premise is, that "the most general meaning" of *nachash*, in the Bible, is "to view attentively," etc. This he combines with the affirmation that for "earnest, attentive watching, looking," etc., the satyrus kind "have no fellows in

the animal world." Had this been worth a reply, it might have been shown that, in this respect, the *serpent* equals or surpasses the *satyrus* kind, and have even become proverbial; for which reason Dr. Cartwright selected it as an illustration when he says that, among other things, *nachash* represents the abstract idea "of viewing attentively, as a snake views a bird."* The Arabic argument has been already noticed. Dr. Clarke brings from that language some words, between which and the Hebrew *nachash* he discovers no resemblance in sense, and not enough in sound to entitle it to a place in Dean Swift's philological *jeu d'esprit*, in which he derives "*Alexander the Great*" from "*all eggs under the grate*." If Dr. Cartwright had really given the Hebrew and Arabic arguments that weight which he seems to solicit from his readers, he would not have attempted to supplant the ape by the negro; for those arguments do not lead to the conclusion of which he claims the benefit—do not tend to determine abstractly what were the form and faculties of the *nachash*—but to identify that creature with the *satyrus* or ape kind, and thus exclude at once the serpent and the negro. The Hebrew argument, as just explained, shows that the word *nachash* expresses a trait for which the ape is remarkable; while the Arabic argument is founded on the similarity and common origin of the names of the devil and the ape. Dr. Cartwright's theory can derive no support from this, since negroes are neither devils nor apes; though, in denouncing each other, one of their most approved phrases is, "You black devil, you!"

Secondly. Dr. Cartwright, by implication, stretches Dr. Clarke's conclusion far beyond its real extent, when he says:

"Dr. Clarke thought that orang-outang would have been a better choice than serpent, for the name of a black creature, formed like a man, with the gift of speech and reason, a great deal of cunning, yet playful and good-natured, walking erect, a sorcerer and a slave to something that charmed it."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, pp. 133, 134. August, 1860.*

This is by no means a faithful representation of Dr. Clarke's idea of the *nachash*; but only a very highly embellished filling up of his outline. The only lineaments borrowed from Dr. Clarke, are in the words: "with the gift of speech and reason, and walking erect;" to which Dr. Cartwright's finishing touch has added: "a black creature, formed like a man, with a great deal of cunning, yet playful and good-natured, a sorcerer, and a slave to something that charmed it." The idea, sufficiently expressed in the words "walking erect," is duplicated by a kind of appoggiatura, in the words "formed like a man." Other similar grace notes may be found in Dr. Cartwright's article.

* *De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 514. October, 1860.*

Again, assuming that several human races were originally created, Dr. Cartwright says that—

"After Cain killed his brother, he went into the land of Nod, inhabited by some one or more of the inferior races, and took a wife."—*Be Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 134. August, 1860.*

Now, there is no such thing in the Bible. Many swift witnesses against the divine authority of that book attempt to prove a contradiction by first quoting the creation of the father and mother of all living, and then flippantly saying, "Cain went into the land of Nod and took a wife." But it is strange to find a deep philosopher and professed believer in the word of God, falling into such a gross error while engaged in grave researches after the truth revealed in that divine volume. Instead of "a wife," Moses says "his wife;" instead of "took" he says "knew." Let a parallel passage be placed side by side with this:

<p>"And Adam knew his wife; and she conceived and bare Cain."—<i>Genesis iv, 1.</i></p>	<p>"And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived and bare Enoch."—<i>Genesis iv, 17.</i></p>
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Here precisely the same thing is said of Adam and of Cain. It will not be pretended that the meaning is, that Adam "took a wife;" for the history shows that he had already taken her; and, therefore, Adam knew his wife whom he had before he was driven out of Eden. Hence, though nothing is previously said of the wife of Cain, it must be inferred that he had a wife before he "went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden."* Though Moses has recorded the leading events in chronological order, that order has not been rigidly observed with regard to minor events. Having told of the creation of all things, including men, both male and female, and of the seventh-day rest, he reverts to the creation of man, the planting of Eden, and the creation of the woman, whom God "brought unto the man," blessing them with the words "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth."† And Adam, before the fall, alludes to the future relation of parent and child.‡ It is certain, therefore, that Adam's knowledge of his wife preceded their expulsion from Paradise; yet it is not mentioned till after the history of the temptation, the fall, and the expulsion. So, though the murder of Abel and the curse of Cain are narrated, and it is said that he went out and dwelt in the land of Nod before it is said that he knew his wife, it is not to be inferred that he did not know her until after he went into exile, and still less that he took her in the land of exile. It is narrated of Hannah, that she was the wife of Elkanah, and had been barren for a number of years: "it is then stated that "Elkanah knew Hannah his

* *Genesis iv, 16.*

† *Id. i, 28.*

‡ *Id. ii, 24.*

wife," and "after Hannah had conceived," "she bare a son," etc.* Not that he first knew her after she had been his wife for several years. "He knew his wife" is but a formulary by which the birth of a child is introduced, and has no reference to the time when she was taken to wife.

It is simple justice to Dr. Cartwright, however, to say, that he does not, as Mr. Scull supposes, design to destroy public confidence in the Scriptures.† On the contrary, he seems to labor, however injudiciously, to restore that confidence which he supposes may have been shaken by other ethnologists. While he agrees with Nott and Gliddon in believing that the science of ethnology reveals that there are several distinct, indigenous races of men, he thinks this, far from impeaching, confirms the truth of the Bible; for, says he:

"That book positively affirms that there were, at least, two races of intellectual creatures, with immortal souls, created at different times."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 129. August, 1860.*

He declares that what he had learned in the book of nature, he found, to his surprise, had been revealed more than five thousand years previously in the Hebrew Bible.‡ He repeatedly extols the wisdom and knowledge of negro character and peculiarities exhibited in the Book of Genesis, and speaks of it as "what God reveals on the subject."|| In a subsequent article he vindicates the Bible from the assaults of "Voltaire and the illuminati of the last century;" of all who regard its first pages as a fable; and of "the learned authors of the '*Types of Mankind*,' and a great many other scientific men," whom the "hypothesis of a single species of the genus homo" has prejudiced against the Bible "as the revealed Word of God."§ His opinion that there are several distinct races of human beings, is founded on the Hebrew words, *naphesh chayah*, in the first and second chapters of Genesis. The proper translation of these words is in issue between him and Mr. Scull. The question is one of legitimate criticism, which must be adjusted by Hebrew scholars. But it is too much to assume with Mr. Scull, that to controvert the *historical* or the *received* meaning of the Scriptures, necessarily involves an attack on the Scriptures themselves. What he understands by their *natural* meaning, is not so obvious; but the object of all men ought to be to ascertain the *true* meaning of God's Word, whether it be sustained by ancient and contemporary interpretation or not. Mr. Scull well remarks, that "Scripture truth stands forth as God's truth;" but errors of translation—those apparent discrepancies

* I Samuel i, 2, 7; 19, 20.

† *De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 715. December, 1860.*

‡ *Id.*, 135. August, 1860.

§ *Id.*, 129, 131, 132, etc.

|| *Id.*, 515, 516, 518. October, 1860.

which, as he says again, man has made—are not Scripture truth. Hence, Dr. Cartwright cannot properly be censured for endeavoring to give a correct version of any portion of God's Word, but only for not pursuing his investigation with that caution and humility which ought to characterize all philosophical inquiries, and, above all, such as implicate the Word of God.

Whilst it is just to exonerate Dr. Cartwright from any intention to disparage the Bible, it is obvious that the tendency of such wild speculation, under the guise of scientific research and learned criticism, is to unsettle the faith or confirm the infidelity of some who "are unlearned and unstable," and to encourage others in speculations even more visionary and pernicious. One who professes to believe in the divine authority of the Bible, is not justifiable in making his continued acceptance of any part of it depend on its containing a corroboration of some theoretic conception of his own. This Dr. Cartwright seems to do in the following paragraph:

"But, you may ask, is not the first part of Genesis a narration of events that could not possibly have been witnessed by any human being, and of what value can it be in the search of truth? It would be of no more value than Sinbad the sailor, if the narration did not prove itself by containing within itself the truth sought for. We are in search of the truth about negroes, whether they belong to the Adamic race or not."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 131. August, 1860.*

The answer to the interrogatory cannot be accepted as a canon of criticism. It may mean that the narration, if not true, is a fable, which is a truism too jejune to be imputed to a writer of such pretensions and standing as Dr. Cartwright. It may mean that, if the narration does not contain the particular truth for which the critic may chance to be seeking, it is of no more value than the story of Sinbad, which would require that "the first part of Genesis" shall contain the truth on every conceivable subject of investigation, or it must be classed with the fable of Sinbad. Lastly, it may mean that the narration must be rejected unless it proves itself "by containing within itself" "the truth about negroes, whether they belong to the Adamic race or not." Such seems to be the meaning of Dr. Cartwright, since he specifies this as "the truth sought for." That is, if the Bible narrative does not contain Dr. Cartwright's theory, that the first created *naphesh chaiyah* were negroes, and that the *nachash* was one of them, it must be relegated to the realm of allegory. This seems like laying down as a canon for testing the divine authority of the Bible that, if it reveals what Dr. Cartwright stamps with his signet, it is a revelation from God, but otherwise not.

Dr. Cartwright does not enforce the opinion that the *nachash* originally walked erect, and was endowed with the gifts of speech and reason, by any new evidence, but contents himself with the arguments of Dr. Clarke. Then, so far as his theory

depends on that opinion, it has already been overthrown. And if Dr. Clarke failed to show that the curse against the *nachash* was fulfilled in the ape, still more unfortunate have been the efforts of Dr. Cartwright to make it quadrate with the condition of negroes. He says:

"When at work in the fields, they do not stoop like white people; their heads being thrown back, their knees bent, their legs bowed out, their feet flat, hips thrown upward, their abdomens are brought parallel with the earth, as if moving over its surface on their bellies. 'Upon thy belly shalt thou go,' said Elohim to the *nachash*."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 135. August, 1860.*

This description, if in any case correct, certainly does not apply to thousands of negro slaves employed as mechanics, house servants, coachmen, wagoners, and in various other ways; but only to those "at work in the fields;" nor to them, except such as pick cotton; nor yet to these, except while actually engaged in that work. Indeed, the description is the offspring of Dr. Cartwright's imagination, and is akin to that similitude of Mr. Robert Montgomery, which Macaulay pronounces the worst in the world:

"The soul, aspiring, pants its source to mount,
As streams meander level with their fount."

"If streams did meander level with their founts," says Macaulay, "no two motions can be less like each other than that of meandering level and that of mounting upward." And moving, as all quadrupeds do, with the abdomen parallel with the earth, is quite as little like "moving over its surface on the belly," like the serpent kind. In the curse is no "as if" on thy belly; but simply "on thy belly." According to Dr. Cartwright's gloss, the curse ought to have been written, "while picking cotton in the fields, thy abdomen shall be brought parallel with the earth, as if moving over its surface on thy belly." Unfortunately for this fine theory, "upon thy belly shalt thou go, said Elohim to the *nachash*." This the serpent does in fact; the negro, not even in appearance. But the idea that the Almighty gravely cursed the beguiler by condemning him to carry his belly more parallel with the earth, while at work in the fields, than white people do, is too puerile to deserve even this much notice.

Applying his theory to that portion of the curse which condemns the *nachash* to eat dust, Dr. Cartwright continues:

"We have only to look at them eating the bread, which they prefer to all other kinds of bread, the *ash-cake*, and to witness their fondness for the ashes, and eating dust by the handfuls, to see rewritten upon living negroes a translation of the Hebrew word, 'and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.'"—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 135. August, 1860.*

If proof is to be derived from a fondness for the *ash-cake*, many of "the Adamic race" are *nachashim*, for a very large

number of the whitest whites regard it a truly delicious and healthful food, and prefer it "to all other kinds of bread." Dr. Cartwright adds:

"They are the only people in the world who are victims of the peculiar disease called dirt-eating, cachexia Africana, or negro consumption." *Id. ib.*

It is not necessary to remind Dr. Cartwright that, according to medical authorities, this disease, though sometimes real, is more frequently feigned; and that the native Africans, in the Indies, took this method to commit suicide, under the superstitious idea that they would revive in Africa; and that there are diseases common to white people which produce various kinds of pica. They state, for example, that chlorosis causes a morbid appetite for magnesia, chalk, lime, coals, ashes, clay, and other absorbents. As a literary gentleman, Dr. Cartwright will probably remember the case of Sabina Green, who, from eating oatmeal, champing tobacco-pipes, licking chalk, and nibbling sealing-wax, fell to eating thunderbolts, and then devoured the garden wall half a foot toward a neighbor's yard, and would have eaten quite through, but that she became too lazy to stir out, and contented herself with scratching coals in her chamber.* The evil reprehended in this fictitious character must have been of frequent occurrence with the "Adamic race" of England, to require this cautionary notice from the Spectator. Admitting, however, that dirt-eating is strictly confined to negroes, it is not with them the rule, but the exception; whereas the eating of dust, in whatever sense intended, was to be the rule with the *nachash*, and exemption the exception, if any exception is supposable. Negroes may be frequently attacked by this disease; yet a disease it is, and not the normal condition of the negro race. Dr. Cartwright makes it a disease of the mind, resulting from snake-worship, the negro's "indigenous superstition;" though it is not so easy to perceive why worshipping snakes should make the stomach crave dirt.

If Dr. Cartwright would have it believed that the translators of the Bible ought to have "rendered the word *nachash* as the great Hebrew scholar, C. Blanchard Thompson, has rendered it, by the word negro,"† he should show that the negro is "cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field." He must accomplish the impossibility, which he has not even attempted, of showing that God "put enmity between" the negro and the woman, and between his seed and her seed; and that, as the result of that enmity, the seed of the woman, in its double sense, first as the Messiah, and secondly as the Adamic race, has bruised, or will bruise, the negro's head; and that the negro has bruised, or will bruise, his heel—understanding the negro also in two senses: first, as Satan, who assumed the

* Spectator, No. 431.

† De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 134. August, 1860.

negro's form, and is, therefore, figuratively, called by his name; secondly, as the literal negro. The literal sense has sometimes been fulfilled. White men have sometimes bruised the heads of negroes, and these have occasionally returned the compliment, not on the heel, but the head of the white man. But white men have more frequently bruised the heads of whites than of negroes. To assume that the continual strife between the Northern and Southern states on account of the negro, resulting in the destruction of a once proud, powerful, and glorious government, is the bruising of the white man's heel, would be in keeping with Dr. Cartwright's theory, and quite as probable as any part of it. There is confusion, inconsistency, and contradiction in Dr. Cartwright's partial application of this part of the curse. In connection with his remarks concerning dirt-eating, he says:

"Happily, as foretold, the seed of the woman is bruising the head of the serpent, and Christianity is setting the poor negro free from slavery to that evil spirit which seizes upon him whenever he gets beyond hearing of the crack of the white man's whip."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 136. August, 1860.*

What has the serpent's head to do with it? According to Dr. Cartwright's theory, it was the serpent-worshipper's head that was to be bruised—the head of the *nachash*, which, he says, should be translated *negro*. Moreover, he confounds blessing and curse, and makes the blessing consist in "bruising the head of the serpent," though his theory excludes the serpent, and inflicts the bruise on the negro's head. And this bruising of the negro's head is made to consist in setting the negro free from slavery to an evil spirit. In this the negro is not cursed, but rather blessed "above every beast of the field." Interpreting the whole sentence by the aid of the context, it seems to mean that the Messiah is gaining a victory over satan, because Christianity is curing the negro of his liability to the disease of dirt-eating, which is a consequence of snakeolatry. If so, bruising the head of the *nachash* is a blessing to the negro; therefore the negro was not the object of the curse recorded by Moses; that is, he was not the *nachash*.

Dr. Cartwright endeavors to press into his service every definition of the word *nachash*, even those which are most against him. He says:

"We see around it the serpent—the charmed—the enchanted—watching closely—prying into designs—muttering and babbling without meaning—hissing—whistling—deceitful—artful—fettors—chains—and a verb formed from the name which signifies to become black."—*De Bow's Review. New Series. Vol. iv, p. 131. August, 1860.*

Here he endeavors to justify his filling up of Dr. Clarke's sketch of the *nachash* with sable pigments; but Mr. Scull denies that any "verb is formed from the name which signifies to be or to become black." Between these two and other Hebrew

scholars, this issue must be left. As it was undeniable that *nachash* sometimes properly means "serpent," and sometimes expresses the ophidian act of "hissing," even this is made an argument to prove that, in the third chapter of Genesis, it does not mean a "serpent," but a negro! To give this plausibility it is said :

"We have in the Northwest a tribe of Indians called Snakes. The name was intended to be significant of some peculiar trait in their character."—*De Bow's Review*. Vol. iv, p. 134. August, 1860.

Of course, it is not intended to identify these with the *nachash*, for that would destroy the nigritian theory. The reader is left to draw the inference that Adam, who named all creatures, may have called a negro a snake, because of some peculiar trait. Indians frequently take the names of animals possessing qualities which they value in a brave. One of those qualities is a noiseless approach to surprise an enemy. Hence a tribe, boasting of this quality, may well have assumed the name of Snakes. But this tends no more to establish Dr. Cartwright's theory than the fact that there is a city called Buffalo and a country called Turkey. If it had been shown that the Egyptian worshippers of the cat, ibis, and other creatures were called by the names of the animals to which they devoted themselves, it would have been in point; for the negro trait on which Dr. Cartwright relies is thus set forth :

"Nearly all the ancestors of the negroes now in the United States, were the slaves of the serpent before they became the slaves of Christian white men. They worshipped their snake master, believed that the serpent-god was all-wise, all-powerful, and very wicked." *De Bow's Review*. Vol. iv, p. 133. August, 1860.

Dr. Cartwright's theory proceeds on several unwarrantable assumptions: first, that Adam adopted the Indian method of applying to humans the names of animals, "to be significant of some peculiar trait in their character;" secondly, that the trait selected had reference to the object of their worship; thirdly, either that snake-worship had commenced in the Garden of Eden, where the Lord, the true God, was wont to walk "in the cool of the day;" or, that Adam, gifted with prophetic vision, foresaw that it would prevail among the negro race; and, fourthly, that the serpent was named before the negro. But the last assumption conflicts with another of Dr. Cartwright's statements, namely :

"We are told that all the creatures were brought before Adam to receive names, and that what he called every living creature, that was the name thereof. What these names were appears afterward. . . . The first one of these names . . . is *Nachash*. That is the name of the creature which beguiled Eve." *De Bow's Review*. Vol. iv, p. 131.

But, if Adam called this creature *nachash*, "serpent," because he worshipped a serpent, the reptile, after which he was named,

must have been named before him; and he was not the first named. Then the order must have been reversed, and the snake named *nachash* because it was the object of the adoration of the *nachash* or negro. In either case, we find Adam giving the same name to different creatures; the one a human being, the other a reptile. This, of course, would have created great confusion, making it frequently doubtful whether a human being or a snake was denoted.

There are various other objections to Dr. Cartwright's method of fastening the same Hebrew name on the serpent and the negro. First, it is not certain that the African negroes really worship serpents. While Dr. Cartwright affirms that the tribes "which make the best slaves were, before they became the slaves of the white man, *the slaves of a serpent*;" Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Kraff, a traveller in Africa, states that throughout the whole of eastern Africa fetichism is unknown; that the powerful nation of Gallas, or Oroma, possess a purer faith than any of the heathen tribes of eastern Africa, and that they are held in high estimation as slaves. Dr. Barth, whose observations were made in North and Central Africa, thinks that the original religion of nearly all the African tribes was a worship of the elements, the sun and moon, and the souls of their ancestors; that their forms of worship are now more grotesque than at a former period; and that the religious rites of the interior—the most remote from the influence of the white man—are far purer than those near the coast. Rev. T. J. Bowen was for some years a missionary in Yoruba, which is coterminous with Dahomey, and quite as much immersed in superstition. His residence afforded him ample means for obtaining reliable information, and his occupation required him to improve his opportunities. He says:

"White men are generally much mistaken in regard to the religion and superstition of the negroes. They suppose that the idols are looked upon as gods; that the symbol is the idol; and that the greegree, or charm, is an object of worship—all of which is incorrect. . . . As the people make a clear distinction between God and idols, so an idol, which is a real spiritual being, is not to be confounded with its symbol, which may be an image, a tree, or a stone."—*Smithsonian Contributions*, x.

In another work, the same writer says:

"Everybody in that country believes in one true and living God, of whose character they often entertain surprisingly correct notions. Most of the people worship certain imaginary creatures, whom they regard as mediators between God and men; but there are some who reject such mediation, and attempt to hold direct communication with God himself."—*Central Africa*, 159, 160.

"Their fetichism is precisely the same system of superstition which leads Mahometans, and Catholics, and many Protestants, to employ charms and amulets as a means of averting evil. The noble duke who fastened a horse-shoe to the marble steps of his palace, believed in the power of the fetich as well as the negro king who hangs amulets and charms in his house to

prevent the entrance of witches and devils. But the fetish is not worshipped either in Europe or Africa. It is not a mediator, but a 'medicine,' as the Indians and Africans call it, which preserves the superstitious from spiritual ills as drugs avert bodily maladies."—*Id.*, 312.

Mr. Bowen says much more on these subjects, but this is sufficient.

Secondly: Admitting that Africans worship the serpent, their worship is not confined to this creature. In Abomi, a village of Dahomi, the fetich is the serpent; but in the neighboring village of Whyda, it is the leopard. Again, to quote from Mr. Bowen:

"Some of these symbols, occasionally engraved on the temple doors of Obatala, deserve a more special notice. On several distinct panels are seen a fish, a land tortoise, and a serpent."—*Smithsonian Contributions*, x.

"Seeing a fine school of fish in the shallow water in the river, near the village, I made inquiries, and was informed that the people worship them as a sort of *orisha* or idol."—*Central Africa*, 174.

"The idols of Yoruba amount to three or four hundred, most of which are of little note. Some of them are spiritual creatures, superior to men, and different from angels; others are ancient heroes, or heads of families. They are often symbolized by trees, rivers and other natural objects; but the symbol is not the idol."—*Id.*, 313.

Why, then, should negroes be named for one object of worship rather than another? Why not call them leopards, fish, or tortoises, as well as serpents?

But, thirdly, the negroes have not had a monopoly of serpent worship; which, on the contrary, has been almost universal. Rev. Richard Watson says that the serpent has been worshipped "almost everywhere," and adds:

"Under this form, probably, the grand deceiver of the nations succeeded to transfer Divine honors to himself, and thus to revel in the degradation of mankind."—*Exposition*, Rom. i, 23.

Another writer says that the first corruption of the worship of the Druids was the worship of the sun. He then continues:

"There soon followed, as among all other heathen nations, the worship of the serpent. The serpent's egg was the Druid's crest, and the actual serpent lay entwined at the foot of their altars. . . . It is one of the most remarkable triumphs of that 'old serpent, the devil,' that he has succeeded in persuading fallen man, in every country and in every age, without exception, to adore that reptile form in which he destroyed the happiness of our first parents. In the Temple of Belus, at Babylon, were worshipped large serpents of silver. In Persia, serpents were considered the governors of the universe. The serpent Calya was worshipped in Hindostan, as was the serpent Python at Delphos. Under the form of the dragon, the serpent has, to this day, governed China and Japan. While the serpent worship of Syria and Egypt is shown by all the ancient history of those countries, it entered largely into the mythology of Greece and Rome."—*The Book and its Story*, pp. 78, 79.

Another writer says, that the serpent became an object of regard among the heathen world above most other animals;

and after assigning some reasons which probably induced the Hebrews to pay divine honors to the brazen serpent, he continues:

"The influence of example might have induced the Hebrews to take this fatal step; and the recollection that their forefathers looked upon it and lived, by the Divine command, might have confirmed them in their choice. Besides, although Scripture associates with the serpent all that is evil, and makes it even personate the wicked one, by the heathen world it was made the deified symbol of something good and beneficent; ideas which the Hebrews, perverted as they were, could not fail having of the brazen serpent. Thus, for instance, the *cerastes*, or horned snake, was sacred to Ammon, one of the Egyptian deities, and was interred, after death, in the temple of that deity; and the venomous *naia-haj* was regarded as an emblem of Oneph, their good deity. Among the Greeks and Romans, also, it symbolized "the good genius;" and Esculapius, the god of physic, was worshipped under the form of a serpent, which some writers think was derived from a tradition concerning the animal the sight of which restored the wounded Hebrews. It was from this idea that serpent-worship spread from Egypt among the nations of eastern Europe and western Asia, and it might also have influenced the Hebrews."—*Eastern Arts and Antiquities*, pp. 255, 256.

Even that "extatic state" into which, according to Dr. Cartwright, negro serpent-worshippers are thrown by coming near the serpent,* is not a phenomenon confined to the negro; but finds its parallel in the sect of Psylli. Nonnini, while in Egypt, saw a saadi of this sect devouring pieces of a living serpent, and agitated, during the process, even to a frenzy.† Nor has serpent-worship been limited to ethnic nations. Not only did the children of Israel burn incense to the brazen serpent that Moses had made,‡ but they

" Oft forsook
Their living strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To bestial gods."§

These were introduced even into the temple of the true God; and upon the wall round about were portrayed "every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel,"|| which

" Ezekial saw, when, by the vision led,
His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah."¶

Moreover, in the second century, there was a sect of Gnostic Christians called Ophites, or Serpentes, of whom it is said, that they were

[To be continued.]

* De Bow, vol. iv, 133. Aug. 1860.

† Mavor's Voyages, vol. 28, pp. 228, 229.

‡ II Kings, xviii, 4.

§ Paradise Lost, B. 1.

¶ Paradise Lost, B. 1.

¶ Ezekiel viii, 10.

ART. VII.—MANUFACTURE OF WINES IN THE SOUTH.

EXPOSITION OF A PLAN TO OBIATE THE DISABILITIES OF CLIMATE OPPOSED TO THE
MANUFACTURE OF WINE IN SOUTH CAROLINA, ETC.

PART II.

The first point calculated to embarrass the chemist is the multitude of wines that the market presents. We have eight or ten apparently different kinds in common use; every wine country seems to present a different kind, and it is alleged that all these different kinds are the fermented juice of the grape. How many different kinds of grape juice were required to make so many different kinds of wine? Is it possible that the established unity of nature is destroyed, and that the grape of every country has a specific composition of its own? A careful examination of the composition of grape juice does not justify such a position; there is a unity of composition pervading them all, and the juice of the wild Bullace is as readily determined as the refined Chasselas of Fontainbleau. Grape juice varies in the relative quantity of its constituents, but the constituents themselves are always present. Wine may be alleged to be a production of nature; such is possible sometimes, but grape juice is always the produce of nature, hence it is safer to judge wine by grape juice than to judge grape juice by wine. If I find in a wine that which I know does not exist in grape juice, I may justly infer that it is an attempt of art to improve nature. If I am in the habit of finding in grape juice that which I do not find in a particular wine, I may justly infer that the wine is not the fermented juice of the grape, hence it is factitious and the sole product of man. If the determination of the genuineness of wines had been the object of this paper, the field of research was open, and the method of exploration simple; but my object was different. I have only examined some of the most celebrated foreign wines to determine how far the materials contained in our grape juices were capable of producing their like, fully persuaded that wine-making is an art in Europe, and each nation pursues its own method according to the mercantile objects in view and the habits and customs of the people. The wines of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Madeira, differ from each other much more than the differences of the grape juice will justify; and it is more than probable that if the wine makers of Oporto were transferred to Xeres, or the vines of Xeres transplanted to the Douro, we should have port wine coming from Xeres, and sherry wine coming from Oporto; for it is well known that any kind of wine may be made in any place out of any kind of grape juice, and frequently out of no grape juice at all. It is not impossible, at some future period, that Aiken may produce all the wines of the commercial world; when the wine artists of

Europe shall select this desirable village as the seat of their industry, and we may send to Aiken, as we do to Cette, and direct any wine to be made to order of such an age or quality. To hasten this flourishing era, we have first to determine whether the grapes of Aiken are susceptible of this high destiny—whether they are equal in quality to those at present employed in Europe for the same purpose. That similar fruits should contain similar constituents is reasonably to be expected, and when we encounter similar fruits in different parts of the world, we may infer similar composition. If we subject identical fruits to identical examinations, we obtain identical results; hence we had a right to presume that the American grapes contained the same composition as the European, with about as many differences as exist among the European varieties. Varieties growing in the same vineyard will differ in subordinate details, whether the vineyard be in America or in Europe. Climate, soil, cultivation and care have their influences for good or for evil, but no contingency can so far change a vine as to make it lose the characteristics of its fruit. The fruit will always contain water, holding in solution potash and lime salts, free acids, tartaric principally, sugar, mucilage, pecten, essential and fixed oils, coloring and astringent matter, and woody fibres proceeding from the rupture of the organization of the fruit by the mechanical action of the press, and held in suspension. This woody fibre which is held in suspension, and on the complete removal of which depends the limpidity of the future wine, together with impurities which may accidentally fall into it, may be denominated *fecula*, and defecation may be applied to designate the process by which it is removed. Of the several constituents which enter into the composition of grape juice, the most important to determine are the acids and the sugar. The remainder may be determined sufficiently by the sight, the smell or the taste. The quantitative determination of the acid and sugar enable us, first, to decide the maturity of the fruit—for it is demonstrated that at maturity the acids will be at its minimum and the sugar will be at its maximum. Secondly, the knowledge of the quantity of acid and sugar enables us to predict the production of an acid or a strong wine—for excess of organic acids make an acid wine and deficiency of sugar will make a weak wine. The wines of Aiken are both acid and weak—attributable to the use of an immature grape which I shall show hereafter. The maximum of maturity may be determined by the maximum quantity of sugar which the grape can produce, and correlatively the minimum quantity of acidity. If this correlative be true, it may be sufficient for the vine grower to know how to determine one and infer the other. To demonstrate this truth, I have been compelled to employ both operations, one immediately after the other; and to prove that the processes are neither difficult nor

laborious, I have recorded the results of the examination of fifty-two specimens of grapes, twelve specimens of foreign wine and twenty-one specimens of domestic—making eighty-five double operations within two months—and it will be from this record that I shall draw my knowledge and experience. My object was to obtain a positive method of comparing the juice of grapes at different times, in order to determine advancing maturity, to compare different grapes with each other at the same times, and finally to compare grape juice with foreign and domestic wine; if the detection of factitious wines occurred, it was a sequence that came of its own accord, and when adulterations came in my way, I could not avoid seeing them.

The operations that I have employed are simple, and one is as old as Archimedes. The other, as far as I know, is a plan of my own. The determination of the sugar is a process that every wine grower should be conversant with, and depends upon the common principle of specific gravity. If sugar be heavier than water, it is manifest that water, having sugar in solution, must be heavier than pure water. And if alcohol be lighter than water, it is manifest that a mixture of alcohol and water must be lighter than pure water. It is also manifest that the weights of equal volumes of these materials will vary with their relative proportions. Without entering into the principles involved, which may be found in any book of philosophy, I propose to point out the simplest method of ascertaining the maturity of the grape by determining the specific gravity of the juice. To obtain the juice by mashing the grapes in a mortar, and squeezing the "toussi" through a cloth. I possess a stoppered bottle which exactly contains 1000 grains weight of water, when at the temperature of 62°. I also possess a balance and corresponding grain weights. To hasten my operation, I prepared a counterpoise, which equals the weight of the bottle and water, which always occupies one pan of the balance; in the other I place the bottle containing the juice for determination. If the juice contains sugar, the 1000-grain bottle will outweigh the counterpoise, and I must add grains to the counterpoise until the equilibrium is established. This addition of grains, added to 1000, gives me the excess of weight produced by the presence of the sugar, and is called the specific gravity of the juice. The specific gravity will vary with the greater or lesser quantity of sugar, and gives us a simple and quick method of determining the quantity contained in the measure of one thousand grains of water. On the 1st of August, I took the specific gravity of the juice of the Catawba grape from Columbia, and found that it required 43 grains to establish the equilibrium; adding 43 grains to 1000 gave me 1043 as the specific gravity, and I so recorded it for future use. On the 18th August, I repeated the operation on the Catawba from Augusta, and found that it required 80

grains, hence 1080 was now its specific gravity. On the 26th of August 90 grains were required, hence 1090 was the specific gravity. On the 9th of September, and after the grapes had been kept nine days after gathering, the specific gravity mounted up to 1102. The grapes gathered from the same vine to be packed up with those gathered nine days before, had a specific gravity of only 1081, showing that the specific gravity had increased from the loss of water by evaporation, in that than a continued progress of maturity. Both parcels were sound, and much practical benefit may come out of the experiment of Dr. Cook, of Kaolin, to whom I am indebted for the specimens.

The purchased one thousand-grain bottle is decidedly the most convenient instrument for use. The calculations are already made, and it may be daily used in a few minutes. A substitute may be made at home, out of an apothecary's phial, which will require a daily calculation for the stand, and must be whatever the contents of water may weigh. Any other weight than 100 or 1000 must be proportioned, or we cannot translate the specific gravity into the proportion of sugar according to a prepared table. The universal hydrometer may be used, but we must have a table to translate the indications marked on the instrument into the true specific gravity, or it will be useless. With whatever instrument the specific gravity may be taken, it is certain that we can daily trace the progress of maturity of the fruit in our vineyards. We have thus a method of determining the ultimatum of maturity with certainty, and with safety. We can also avoid the evil of a too early vintage, and the production of an acid wine. Could it be once determined what the maximum specific gravity of every variety of grape would attain, we have the time of vintage of each variety pointed out to us—for it seems to be a law that after the perfect maturity of a fruit decay soon succeeds. The ordinary signs of maturity are deceptive, and many a vineyard is materially injured in reputation by a premature vintage. On the 29th July, I received a bunch of presumed ripe grapes; the specific gravity was 1065. On the 16th August, I received another bunch off of the same vine; the specific gravity was 1084. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the latter were riper than the former—or the first plucked grapes were green, and the last were not as ripe as they would have been had more patience been exercised. If the determination of the specific gravity had no other object than the determination of the progress of maturity of the grape, the cost of the instrument and the labor of the examination would be repaid by the daily gratification of an anxious curiosity. But the specific gravity leads us directly to the determination of the per centage of sugar contained in the juice, and from this may flow all the pleasant speculations of the richness and

strength of the future wine. The greater the proportion of sugar in the recent juice, the greater proportion of alcohol will there be in the wine, as we have already detailed. Now, if we have learned how to take the specific gravity, the next step is just as simple—for the specific gravity is but the index to the quantity of sugar added to a given quantity of water to increase its weight by that amount. A table, prepared by M. Nieman, of the specific gravity of solutions of different portions of sugar and water from a set of experiments made on purpose at the temperature of $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, give us all that we require. I insert the table as necessary to my purpose in aiding the vine growers of Aiken:

NIEMAN'S TABLE OF SUGAR AND WATER.

Sugar.	Water.	Specific Gravity.	Sugar.	Water.	Specific Gravity.	Sugar.	Water.	Specific Gravity.
0	100	1.0000	16	84	1.0647	32	68	1.1388
1	99	1.0035	17	83	1.0698	33	67	1.1436
2	98	1.0070	18	82	1.0734	34	66	1.1484
3	97	1.0006	19	81	1.0784	35	65	1.1538
4	96	1.0143	20	80	1.0830	36	64	1.1582
5	95	1.0179	21	79	1.0875	37	63	1.1631
6	94	1.0215	22	78	1.0920	38	62	1.1681
7	93	1.0254	23	77	1.0965	39	61	1.1731
8	92	1.0291	24	76	1.1010	40	60	1.1781
9	91	1.0328	25	75	1.1056	41	59	1.1832
10	90	1.0367	26	74	1.1103	42	58	1.1883
11	89	1.0410	27	73	1.1150	43	57	1.1935
12	88	1.0456	28	72	1.1197	44	56	1.1989
13	87	1.0504	29	71	1.1245	45	55	1.2043
14	86	1.0552	30	70	1.1293	46	54	1.2098
15	85	1.0600	31	69	1.1340	47	53	1.2153

The practical use of the above table must be obvious on inspection. The first column contains the quantity of sugar that is dissolved in the quantity of water expressed in the second column, and the third column is the specific gravity of the compound. For use, we have only to seek out in the third column the numbers which correspond to the specific gravity of the juice, and on the same line of the first column we will find the number designating the per centage of the sugar in our juice. The numbers of specific gravity are carried to the fourth place of decimals in the table. This fourth number can be used by having fractions of a grain weight, or it may be omitted altogether; and the determination will be sufficiently accurate. For illustration: I desire to determine the increase of sugar which took place between two bunches of grapes, gathered from the same vine—one on the 29th July, the other on the 16th of August. The specific gravity of one was 1065,

the other was 1084. 1.0647, found in the third column, points out 16 in the first column. Hence, 16 sugar and 84 (second column) water give the composition of the juice. 1.0830, found in the third column, points to 20 in first column and 80 in second column. Hence, 20 is the quantity of sugar and 80 the quantity of water—indicating an increase of 4 parts of sugar on 16, equal to 25 per cent., in eighteen days. My observations, carried through August and September, by the assistance of the 1000-grain bottle and Nieman's table, have enabled me to ascertain what the maximum maturity of the grape may be, what its usual range has been, and what its minimum was. The minimum specific gravity that I have observed was, on the 4th August, obtained from the green berries, which I separated from the ripe from a bunch of Isabella from Columbia. My object was to contrast the green with the purple, as will more particularly appear hereafter, when treating of the acidity of grapes. The purple were far from ripe, and their respective specific gravities were 1040 and 1059, that is by the table 10½ and 14½ of sugar. The Isabella, or other blue grape from New York, examined on the 27th September, had a specific gravity of 1038, say 10 of sugar. That all these grapes were *green*, notwithstanding the green, purple and blue colors presented to the eye, I am strongly inclined to suspect. They were sour to the taste, which I consider a suspicious circumstance, but I will not decide until I compare them with others. The maximum specific gravity that I observed this season was in the Black July, gathered on the 15th September, which was 1,108, equal to 25½ of sugar, sent by Dr. Cook from Kaolin, and the Catawba, from the same gentleman, gathered on the 1st September and kept nine days. The specific gravity was 1102, equal to 24 of sugar. The Black July of Aiken, August 26th, from A. Mazyck, Esq., was 1096, equal to 23 sugar. Warren, Cook, September 15, 1097, equal to 23 sugar. Red LeNoir, Mayrant, Columbia, 1092. Blande's Madeira, Cook, 1094. Little Wild Grape, Hammond, 1093. Isabella, Ravenel, 1090. It is apparent that the specific gravity, that is, the quantity of sugar, increases with time, and there is a point when patience is no longer a merit. It is certain that a specific gravity of 1090, for a whole vineyard, may be obtained, and, possibly, higher, but it should not be done by stripping the vines of all their fruit at one time: for two bunches out of the same parcel, and presumed to be from the same vine, yielded 1090 and 1085. It is reasonable to suppose that all the bunches on a vine will not ripen at the same time. The lower ones will most probably be in advance of the upper. At any rate, it is a matter worthy of attention among the vine growers, who, I presume, are now prepared to work for themselves. With the means of accurate information, relative to the contents of a grape, we may patiently and securely wait

for its full development. Each day or week gives notice of progress or rest, and, when improvement ceases, the vintage may commence. Each day is a gain, either in the secretion of more sugar or the evaporation of more water; and a judicious vine grower can, with proper consideration, select the exact time to secure the largest amount of what is valuable. I have reason to believe that much good fruit has been destroyed, and much sour wine made from premature vintages; and, as it will appear hereafter, green grapes cannot make ripe wine. Assuming, then, that the average specific gravity of grape juice in South Carolina is 1090, and may be raised to 1100 by patience and attention, we are prepared to compare our prospects with what is done in Europe. The minimum and maximum specific gravity of the must manufactured at Heidelberg is 1039. and 1091. That of Necker, Germany, varies from 1050 to 1090. The variation from the extreme north of France to the extreme south not only of France, but of Europe, is from 1062 to 1128. Thus it appears that the wines of Heidelberg and Necker are made from a must rather inferior to what South Carolina does or can produce, and that the wines of France are made from musts both weaker and stronger than those of our state. An examination of the wines of these several regions will prove that the grape juices which are converted into wine, fairly and honestly made, are not richer in sugar than our own. By calculations which are simple and just, we can deduce the specific gravity of the juice from which a given wine was made, provided that no alcohol has been added or taken away. We can also point out all such as have been brandied, watered, or otherwise altered, after we have determined the standard of the genuine. For study, pure specimens must be selected and from pure classes. The Rhenish and French wines belong to a pure class; that is, we have no reason to believe that the good brands have been composed or compounded. The madeira, sherry and port wines belong to another class, as will appear hereafter. That additions of brandy are made is not a secret, therefore they are of little value in determining the sweetness of the must. It is to be remarked that the sources from which the data are taken differ from each other. Brande gives the analyses as derived from specimens obtained in England, while Fontenelle give those as found in France. Fontenelle limits himself to French wines, and makes their strength about half that of Brande. Brande is admitted by recent analysts to be in excess, but such was probably the wine of his time. Dr. Christison, who has re-examined the subject, finds them to be less than Brande records, but he may have met with specimens sent to England to suit a higher class of drinkers. A little water, judiciously added, makes a strong wine a delicate one, and this is an art that may be practised to suit certain tastes. Taking Brande as our guide, we may first

examine the hock as the type of the Rhenish wines. We find it of two degrees of strength: one is represented to contain 13.31 by volume of absolute alcohol, equal to 10.56 by weight; the other contains 8.00 of absolute alcohol, equal to 6.35 by weight, that is to say, that one contains 10.56 per cent. of its weight of absolute alcohol, and the other contains 6.35 per cent. of its weight in absolute alcohol—a difference rather remarkable, which may be referred to a mature or immature vintage, as readily as to an artful addition of brandy or water. We have already shown that 100 pounds of grape sugar are required to produce 46.46 pounds of absolute alcohol, and reversely, 46.46 pounds of alcohol imply the destruction of 100 pounds of sugar for its production. Hence, to use smaller numbers, six parts of alcohol found in wine imply the former existence of ten parts of sugar in the juice. But this proportion allows no waste of alcohol by spontaneous evaporation during fermentation; hence, five to ten is a safer guide, and the general rule now admitted is, that sugar produces one half its weight of alcohol, and reversely, that alcohol requires double its weight of sugar for its formation. The application of this proportion to the two hocks shows one to have contained in the must 21.12 per cent. of sugar, and the other 12.70 per cent. hence, by M. Nieman's table, the specific gravity of one was 1087 and the other 1047. The two Burgundies of Brande contained 21.16 and 17.54 of sugar, corresponding to 10.58 and 8.77 of alcohol, which give a specific gravity to the must of 1088 and 1071. The two Bordeaux clarets were, of alcohol 11.99 and 9.48, of sugar 23.98 and 18.98, hence their specific gravities were 1101 and 1078. The two champagnes are 9.39 and 8.31 of alcohol, 18.98 and 16.62 of sugar, and hence made from musts of 1078 and 1066 specific gravity. The Roussillon, represented as the strongest French wine, contains 12.66 of alcohol, 25.32 of sugar, and of course a specific gravity of the must equal to 1107. Thus it is evident that none of the legitimate wines, as examined by Brande, were produced from musts richer in sugar than those of Aiken, and so far as the growth and maturity of the grape is involved, we need not despair of future success.

If we now apply the above method of calculation to the fashionable wines of England and the United States, we will see that, as sent to us, there is no grape that produces a must sufficiently rich in sugar as to produce such a quantity of alcohol as these wines are found to contain. That they are brandied, we discover without confession; and it is folly to suppose that the climate and soil of Madeira, Spain, and Portugal can produce grapes so far above the normal rate of sweetness as to produce the commercial wine of madeira, sherry and port. The presumed inferior musts of Aiken can produce these several wines when treated in the same manner; and it is idle to expect from nature that which art alone produces. The maxi-

must specific gravity of the richest European must is represented to be 1128; the two madeiras of Brander require the must to have been 1122 and 1148; the two sherries, 1115 and 1125; and the two ports must have been 1136 and 1168! Drying the grapes, or boiling the juice, may have produced such a proportion of sugar, but it is much more probable that brandy was directly added to suit the taste of the English and American markets; and it is commercially important to these countries to export their bad wines in the shape of brandy, mixed with the good, if their customers prefer the mixture. The wine manufacture, like all others, is liable to accident; and if a bad wine is made, it is transferred to the still and converted into a good brandy. This must be sold, and it matters little whether it be smuggled out mixed with the wine, or in its own cask representing what it really is. It may be important to direct attention to the two classes of wine which I have examined. One is really the natural produce of the grape, dependent for its virtues on the flavor, sweetness, etc., of the fruit. Of this class are the French and German wines. They are the faithful representatives of the must, and express the quality of the wine. It is this class alone that can be honestly made in Aiken, and to which all attention should be directed. The flavor and richness will depend upon the kind and maturity of the fruit, and if they are not fac-similes of the French and German standards, habit will soon teach us to adapt our tastes to what we have. If the old taste for the other class should prevail, and men will have the standard of madeira, sherry, and port, we can mix them as well in Aiken as at Funchal, Xeres, and Oporto. Our bad wines can also make good brandy; and if the world prefer us to mix it, we can effect the accommodation without self-censure; for drunkenness is a suicide that will occur, whether the liquor be mixed in Europe or America. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the peculiar flavor of these strong wines, as well as the strength, is derived from the added brandy. In their use we are consuming a mixture of brandy and wine; and it is vain to expect that our grapes will be perfect enough to produce such a wine, except we add the brandy, in imitation of the Spanish and Portuguese customs. We might as well expect our vineyards to yield directly brandy by fermentation, as any wine like madeira, sherry, or port.

OF THE ACIDITY OF WINE AND GRAPE JUICE.

Many attempts to make wine have been made about Aiken from the produce of the vine, but I regret to add without much success. An excess of acidity has generally prevailed, and it is not easy to restore a taste already perverted by the use of European wines to enjoy so different an article, hence they are not much esteemed nor used. The production of an unpalatable wine, by following the European processes with presumed

strict care, and occasionally under the immediate charge of a presumed experienced and practical European wine maker, is not calculated to produce much encouragement, nor hasten the extension of vineyards. If a professional wine maker cannot make other than an acid wine the fault must be with the grape, for it is evident if our vintner can make a good wine in one place, he ought to be able to do the same in another. A careful consideration of causes and consequences involved will dispel this delusion, and demonstrate that Aiken does not possess all the natural advantages for wine making which exist in Europe, and that processes which are universally successful there will universally fail here. I have already alluded to the difference of temperature between the grape regions of Europe and South Carolina during the time of maturity of the fruit; this alone is sufficient to produce the difference in result, and adequate to explain the cause of all the disappointments. Fortunately assertions of this character have a firmer foundation than mere suspicion. They can be demonstrated, and the result of an examination will declare the source of the acidity by the kind of acid found. Wine making is a delicate and scientific chemical operation, and the blind routine of one country is not applicable in another. Modifications of practice must be made to suit particular circumstances, and these modifications must be based on principles previously known and applicable to the case. There is nothing easier than to detect an excess of acidity in wine recently made, and pronounce it a failure. The first experimental mouthful develops this distressing truth, but it does not develop the whole truth. The whole truth should declare the cause and suggest the remedy. Chemistry alone can do this, and if I have been successful in teaching my readers how to apply the principles of physics to determine the quantity of sugar in grape juice, they will not object to take a lesson in chemistry, in order to learn how to detect the kind and quantity of acid which destroys the wine, and the kind and quantity of acid which exists in the grape at all periods of its development in greater or lesser amount. Speculations proceeding in active minds from positive data are generally successful, while speculations from no data at all, or false data, lead to ruin. It is clear that if the wine maker knows the principles of his art, and the exact composition of his materials, he can successfully vary his processes to suit contingencies, and need not live in the perpetual dread or anxiety of doing wrong at the last moment, and sacrificing his years labor. The determination of the quantity of acid in grape juice at all periods of growth, will materially aid in deciding the perfection of maturity, and thus avoid a common cause of acid wine. The determination of the kind of acid in his wine will immediately declare whether it is the produce of the grape or the produce of the fermentation—a distinction of great practical

importance, for it will inform him whether the error was committed in the vintage or in the fermentation, and the like error may be avoided on another occasion. Knowing that I would have many wines and juices to examine in order to accomplish the end I had in view, I commenced operations by devising the simplest plans for accomplishing the fewest objects. I decided that the determination of but two acids would answer my purpose. I concluded to unite all the acids of the grape into one, under the common name of the tartaric; and whether they be tartaric, racemic, malic or citric, the practical result would be the same, my reagent would act upon one or all, and if always applied in the same manner, the same results indicating quantity would always flow from juices containing the same quantities. A little practice settled this point. Comparative, not absolute quantity, was what I desired, and that I obtained. Under the impression that the tartaric acid was the most abundant in the grape, my thoughts turned upon a reagent best suited to its detection, and the neutral tartrate of potash was selected for trial.

My reasons for this choice were that neutral tartrate of potash was soluble in water, and had a strong disposition to unite with more tartaric acid, and form another compound, bi-tartrate of potash, which was insoluble in water; hence, on the addition of a solution of neutral tartrate of potash to grape juice, I had the satisfaction of seeing a white precipitate, indicating the presence of tartaric acid, which white precipitate was bi-tartrate of potash. It should here be remarked, that any other free acid besides the tartaric will produce the same precipitate; but we know that there are no other free acids in grape juice than those enumerated above; and, although they do not unite to produce the same insoluble salt, their action is precisely analogous. If we form our reagent upon citric acid, bi-tartrate of potash is formed: not by converting citric acid into tartaric, but by the union of the citric acid with a portion of the potash, and thus liberating a portion of the tartaric, which immediately unites with another portion of the remaining neutral tartrate, and converts it into bi-tartrate. Thus it is apparent that our reagent exhibits the presence of all the free acids that may be in the juice, and that is precisely what we desire that it should do. The quantity of bi-tartrate precipitated indicates the quantity of all the free acids present in the juice, without reference to what they may be; and if this precipitate is carefully separated, dried, and weighed, we can certainly learn how much acidity was in the juice, and thus compare any number of juices, or the same juice any number of times. The same reagent is equally applicable to wine, with a certain modification, which enables us to discriminate between the acid formed during fermentation, and those pre-existing in the grape juice. The only acid which it is import-

ant to distinguish and separate from the normal acids of the juice, is the acetic; and as this is volatile, it is perfectly separable by distillation. Therefore, in the examination of a wine, we first determine the whole quantity of free acid present in a given quantity of the wine. We then submit the same quantity to distillation, and apply the same reagent to the distillate. The quantity of acid found in the distillate is the quantity of acetic acid, which, subtracted from the whole quantity found in the wine, leaves us the quantity of tartaric, and other acids pre-existing in the grape juice from which the wine was made.

The performance of these operations requires a little apparatus, and some skill and practice in manipulation. It also necessitates the modes of calculation by which we deduce the quantity of tartaric acid, and also the quantity of acetic acid from the quantity of bi-tartrate of potash obtained. The formula which I have universally used is as $1868 : 654 :: A : x$, A being the bi-tartrate of potash found, and x the tartaric acid to be found—654 parts of tartaric acid correspond to 495 parts of acetic; thus the conversion of the tartaric acid into acetic can be easily accomplished. But I have never considered it necessary—for the object was to establish a uniform simple mode, which could be easily and quickly performed without requiring absolute accuracy. It is certain that all the researches are made in the same manner, and on equal quantities of the material; hence, with ordinary care, all defects or errors of the plan are common to every operation, and do not affect the comparative results. Without further details of the processes, which are best learned by seeing the operation performed, I will proceed to state the observations that I have made during the present summer (1860). I had a strong conviction that the acidity of the Aiken wines proceeded in part from the use of immature grapes. I had always known, that is, since I read Esop's fables, that green grapes were sour, but I never knew how much more sour they were than ripe ones. I had never eaten any other than sour grapes, and I was disposed to believe that all were sour. The birds and the insects in Charleston compel us to eat green grapes or none at all, and I reasonably supposed that Aiken was under the same ban. I also had a conviction that, in the maturity of fruit, the acid diminished as the sugar increased—for, as the increase of sugar masked the taste of the acid, the tongue was not a correct test: for it was possible, in artificial mixtures, so to conceal the acid by an excess of sugar that the taste could not detect its presence, although it was known to be there. To settle positively these points, I devised the plan of investigation as already detailed, and commenced operations, on the 29th of July, on a bunch of Warren grapes presumed to be ripe, and sent as a present to a friend. They were colored, and juicy, and tart, and possibly could be eaten by some. I submitted one ounce of the juice to

my process, and obtained 3.78-100 grains of acid. On the 16th of August, I obtained another bunch from the same vine, and treated it in the same manner. It then yielded 1.78 grains—that is, in eighteen days, it had lost two grains of its acidity; but, during the same time, it had gained 18.60 grains of sugar. It is thus evident that the two operations performed upon the juice, at different times, has clearly and truly revealed the quantities of acid and sugar existing at the time of each examination, and the difference between the two declares the progress of maturity. On the 4th August, I purchased some bunches of Isabella grapes, said to be from Columbia, on which some were purple and others were green in color. I carefully separated the different colored berries, and submitted each to examination. The colored indicated 2.82 grains of acid, and the green 6.73 grains—a difference rather remarkable in berries from the same bunch. The difference in acids was 3.91, and the difference in sugar was 17 grains in favor of the purple. That all of these berries were unripe may be proved by an examination repeated on another bunch of the Isabella in the same condition, obtained from Mr. Ravenel, Aiken, on the 24th August. The purple yielded 0.49 grains, and the green 2.35 grains. The purple berries of this bunch contained less acid than any grape I examined during the whole season; and although it did not contain as much sugar as other varieties of grape, still it should be esteemed the ripest fruit. The difference of acid was 1.86 grains, the difference in sugar was 31.66 grains, to the ounce of juice. Mr. Dangerfield's Warren grape, on the 4th August, yielded 4.05 of acid; on the 16th September, 1.33. Chisolm's Black July, on 4th August, was 2.13; on the 16th August, it had diminished to 1.86. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this kind. The observations of the season concur in the demonstration that, as time advances, the quantity of free acid in the grape diminishes and the quantity of sugar increases. By future observations, we can determine the maximum maturity of each variety, and consequently determine the time of vintage. The same variety of grape does not always acquire the same degree of maturity at the same time in the same place, nor in different places. Messrs. Ravenel and Mazyck gave me the Blande's Madeira, on the same day, in Aiken. I examined them on the same day in Charleston, August 24th. Ravenel's acid was 0.69; Mazyck's 1.57. Ravenel's sugar was 83.22, Mazyck's sugar 91.98. Thus each had an advantage over the other, and their grapes were very different. Without knowing the fact, I would venture to guess that Ravenel's soil contained more potash than Mazyck's, by the aid of which the free acid was converted into the neutral salts, and thus escaped the action of the reagent—for it is alone the free acids that the neutral tartrate of potash can detect and separate. All of Mr. Ravenel's grapes exhibited the same

paucity of acids. On the 10th September, I received the Blande's Madeira from Kaolin. It was more acid and sweeter than Mazyek's; possibly a less supply of potash produced this result. It contained of acids 1.71, and of sugar 98.55 grains. Thus it seems, from the few examples that I have selected from my note book, that each vineyard is a study of itself, and each vintner must become a student if he wishes to surmount the natural obstacles that he is destined to encounter. Grape growing and wine making may be considered as two separate professions, but they are two professions that must be concentrated in the same individual; and the habits of observation and study which are necessary to prepare for one can also be applied to prepare for the other. Routine may be practiced by our servants, but the reasons of routine should be known to the master—and variations of routine should be made by him alone after good and sufficient reflection on the points involved. Certainty of knowledge secures accuracy of action; and he who always acts upon certainty of data is successful, and is considered a judicious and lucky speculator. If a judicious use is made of the little instruments which I have described, with the accompanying processes, to determine the quantity of sugar and acid in our grapes, it is certain that we introduce certainty into what was uncertain before. The instruments, and a practical knowledge of their use, may prove as valuable to the vine grower as the vineyard itself—for what is the value of a field to one unable to attend it. Complete sets of instruments may be prepared by the instrument makers, containing all necessary articles, with ample descriptions of their objects and purposes. A small room, set apart for their use, constitutes a laboratory, where every vine grower can hold communion with his vines, and obtain, by interrogation, all the knowledge which is necessary to control acres of land, and make them subservient to his use and prosperity.

PART III.

We may now turn our attention to the consideration of the wines of Aiken, and apply our acquired knowledge to investigate their defects. It is universally admitted that they are too acid, and a comparison with European wines will show that this charge is founded in justice. The excess of acidity may proceed from immaturity of the grape from which it was fermented, or from acids derived from the process of fermentation itself, or from an after-fermentation in the casks or bottles from defective corkage or other stoppage. From what has been detailed, the process of examination must be familiar to the reader. He will first add an excess of neutral tartrate of potash to one ounce of the wine; shake, settle, decant, dry and weigh the precipitate of bi-tartrate potash; calculate the quantity of tartaric acid, and set it down as the whole quantity of acid

in that ounce of the wine. He will then introduce another ounce of the same wine into a retort, adapt a receiver, apply a lump, and distil it nearly to dryness; he will have all the alcohol, all the acetic acid, and nearly all the water in the receiver; this is transferred to a proper vessel, and treated, as in the first instance, with neutral tartrate potash. The precipitate, if any, collected from this distillate, will indicate the quantity of acetic acid if correctly calculated. He will now have the whole quantity of acid from the wine, and the quantity of the acetic acid from the distillate. The subtraction of one from the other, gives the quantity originally in the grape and the quantity derived from fermentation. I submitted one ounce of German Steinwein, branded "Ausbruch," that is to say, the first flow from the grape, 1846, to the above operation, and obtained 2.34 grs. as the quantity of all the acids. I submitted another ounce to previous distillation, and treated the distillate in the same manner, and obtained 0.20 grs. of acetic acid; 0.20 subtracted from 2.34 leave 2.14 grs., which was the quantity of free acid existing originally in the grape, and the 0.20 was the produce of fermentation, primary or secondary. To obtain standards of comparison for Aiken wines, and ascertain what the original acidity of the European grapes were, I submitted several to the first examination, and report the results as follows: My Madeira, Leacock, 1839, 2.29; Madeira, Leacock, 1839, 2.58; Sherry, 2.34; Saunterne, 2.67; Claret La Hue, Margeaux, 1848, 1.74; Champagne, Minet & Chandon, 1.93; Claret, ordinaire, 2.28; Champagne, Lecureux & Lefournier, Arize, 2.08; Claret, St. Emmillon, 1.99—small as this quantity of acid seems to be, I have every reason to believe that it is correct. I dissolved these quantities of tartaric acid in one ounce of water, and tasting the wine and the water alternately I could not perceive much difference. The wine had the advantage of other binacid salts in its composition which the water had not, hence the wine should have been more acid than the acidulated water. Knowing the bi-tartrate of potash to be slightly soluble in wine as well as water, and to ascertain the amount of error that would arise from this cause, I added one grain to one ounce of the Steinwein, and found it to be saturated, hence it could dissolve no portion of the precipitate formed by the neutral tartrate. On completing this operation I obtained 2.43 of tartaric acid, showing an increase $\frac{9}{100}$ of one grain—an amount too small for consideration, but which may be adopted as the amount of error which prevails in all the examinations, and, being common to all, will not affect the comparisons.

Since the determination of the amount of free acids in the European wines, I received the Patent-office Report of 1859, which, in a measure, confirms their accuracy. On the 95th page, we read: "Experiments continued for eight years have proved that, in favorable seasons, grape juice contains, in the

average, in 1,000 pounds: sugar, 240 pounds; free acids, 6 pounds; water, 754 pounds." If this be reduced to the ounce of 437½ grains, such as I have employed, we have the sugar as 105.00 grains, the acids as 2.62½, and the water as 329.87½ grains, equal to 437½ grains. If this be assumed as a normal compound, according to the views of Drs. Gale and Petiol, we have a standard of comparison which is as applicable to wine as to grape juice. My determinations of the several foreign wines are in the neighborhood of this standard; and if they are genuine, as asserted to be, the wines and the standard mutually prove each other. These determinations also include any acetic acid that may have been developed during or after fermentation. The total acidity is what has been determined, without an attempt being made to distinguish one acid from another. There was no excess of acidity to the taste, and there was no reason to presume that the wine was made from green grapes, nor had suffered from the accidents of fermentation or subsequent neglect. It is by these standards that the wine of Aiken should be judged; and if it does not correspond, the wine makers should alter their plans and processes, until they produce a wine that does correspond with the standard and taste of the world. Drs. Gale and Petiol have published a plan of making wine out of any grape juice simply by adding the quantity of any element that may be deficient in the juice, or adding more of other elements when one is in excess, so that the normal proportion shall always be preserved. (See Pat. Off. Report, 1859, page 94 and seq.) In reporting the results of my examinations of some of the Aiken wines, I desire the parties interested to be assured that I design no injury nor offence. They must see as well as others, that acid wines are not relished in our community—that the Rhenish wines are not popular; and if the Steinwein was made in Aiken, the greater portion would remain on hand as unsaleable. If a wine like the Steinwein, containing 2.34 grains of acid, is found to be too sour for pleasant drinking, what will be said of wine containing 6.90 or 5.37 grains of acid. Will it not be charitable to offer both sugar and water with such a wine? I have been charged with being no judge of wine, because I pronounced a wine made in Charleston to be sour which contained 17.74 of acidity. Porter's French white wine vinegar contained only 18.07 grains of acid. On the other hand, I was allowed to be a judge of sour wine when I reported unfavorably on a wine containing 8.31 grains to the ounce. Such wines as the above have been accidentally made in South Carolina; but, on the other hand, better wines have also been made. I received a red wine from Mr. Caradeuc, which contained 2.56 grains of acid; a white wine from Marion, 2.64 grains; Scuppernong of North Carolina, 1.53 grains; Catawba, Cin., 1.21 grains; Witpen, Charleston, 3.12 grains; Thomson, Charleston, 1854, 2.73 grains;

Thomson, Charleston, 1857, 3.21. That some of these wines were improved by the addition of sugar and brandy I confess, but, nevertheless, an improvement is not necessarily an adulteration.

The most recent and interesting examination of wine, made in the vicinity of Aiken, I was enabled to accomplish by the assistance of the President of the late Convention, the Hon. J. H. Hammond. He asserted his belief that a good wine could be made in Aiken, and, that he had done it at Redcliffe. I expressed a doubt, and the examples were sent to determine the truth. He discovered, some years since, that a frame house had not the virtues of a wine-cellar; he, therefore, transferred his wine manufactory to a twenty feet cellar, and in this cellar the wine was made which he maintained was sound and good. The result of the examination proved satisfactory to us both, and almost amounts to a demonstration that cellars will make sound wine when frame buildings will not. An example of this kind was what I had desired. I, therefore, entered on the examination with considerable anxiety as well as pleasure. The Catawba wine of 1859 was opened and tasted. It was not as sour as Steinwein, and had no sweetness. On submitting it to the examination for all the acids I found but 2.02 grains. On submitting another equal portion to distillation nearly to dryness, I tested the distillate and found nothing. No acetic acid had been formed during, nor subsequent to fermentation, indicating that no accident had happened, nor fault committed during that delicate process. The wine was perfect so far as the chemical process was concerned. The 2.02 grains of acid must be referred to the original acid that was in the juice of which the wine was made, and enables us to decide upon the maturity of the grape at the time of the vintage. The acid then was 2.02. By reference to the examination of the Catawba grape throughout the summer of 1860, in the vicinity of Aiken, Augusta and Columbia, I find the diminution of the acids to be as follows: August 1st, 3.66; Aug. 18th, 1.26; Aug. 24th, 0.82; Aug. 30th, 0.84. Later examples were richer in sugar, but the acid was 1.07-1.15-1.18. From these examples, we may infer that 1.00 may be the minimum of acidity that the Catawba grape will acquire, and that the vintage presenting an average of 2.02 was premature—not only in the excess of acid, but in the deficiency of sugar; but of this I desire only to make a note for the future. I may here remark, that differences of locations about Aiken begin already to make differences of maturity in the same grape. Mr. Ravenel's Catawbas were more ripe on the 24th August than Dr. Cook's were on the 30th, by 0.02 of acidity—the sugar of both being equal. The Catawbas of Mr. Crowell were richer in sugar than either of the above, but the acid was greatly in excess, being 2.34 and 1.57, taken from two bunches from the same basket on the 26th August. Potash may be

rare in Mr. Crowell's vineyard at Bluffton. I have made this digression to suggest the possibility that had the juice contained less acid and more sugar, the wine might have been better; and that a later vintage would have accomplished both objects, perhaps.

The second Hammond wine examined was the Catawba of 1860, also made in the twenty-foot cellar. The success in this case was not so perfect as that of 1859. The total acidity was 2.17, while the quantity of acetic acid was 0.36, showing a disposition to assume the acetic fermentation. The grapes, however, were more mature than in 1859, for the original acid in the fruit was 1.81. If the acetic acid fermentation does not continue to progress, it must be considered a fair wine, as the acidity is below the standard limit. 0.20 of acetic acid found in Steinwein is not considered detrimental; 0.36 is but a small increase, and is more than compensated for by the greater maturity of the Catawba over the Rheinisch grape.

The third Hammond wine is the Warren of 1856, made and preserved in a basement. The total acidity is 1.74; the acetic acid 0.43—showing the original acidity of the grape to have been 1.31. From defective corkage it has acquired a bad flavor, but in other respects it is sound.

The fourth Hammond wine is the Warren of 1859, prepared in the twenty-foot cellar. Total acidity, 2.85; acetic acidity, 1.34—indicating considerable progress in the acetic acid fermentation, and diminishing the hopes of the efficacy of twenty-foot cellars. On reporting the condition of this wine I received in reply the following explanation, which is adequate to account for the occurrence and redeem the reputation of the cellar:

"The Warren wine of 1859 I left in charge of my vintner, who racked it twice last spring. Before it was thus racked, my sons and neighbors declare that it was first-rate young Madeira."

Racking in the spring was certainly injudicious, but the wine must have been exceedingly delicate to have suffered so severely by the operation. The liability to assume the acetic acid fermentation from processes incident to the manufacture of wine indicates a deficiency of alcohol, and makes their durability very questionable. In order to determine the quantity of alcohol in these wines compared with the Steinwein, I submitted equal quantities of the Catawba of 1859, and Steinwein, to Brande's method of ascertaining the amount of alcohol. The result was as 7.25 in the Catawba to 12.90 in the Steinwein. I took, also, this occasion to determine the comparative quantity of undecomposed sugar in the two wines. In the Steinwein I found 4.37 grains in the ounce, and in the Catawba 2.48 grains to the same quantity. It is worthy of remark that the quantities of alcohol and sugar in the two wines bear a similar ratio

to each other—12.90 : 4.37 :: 7.25 : 2.45, as if the quantity of alcohol formed determined the quantity of sugar which remains unconverted. If this coincidence should prove to be a law, it will explain many circumstances which are now obscured, and give us a method of sweetening weak, sour wines, without incurring the danger of exciting a fresh fermentation. The common concurrence of weakness and acidity in the same wine may find an explanation in this law, for the paucity of the alcohol has allowed all the sugar to ferment, and none remains to mask the acidity of the original organic acids.

The factitious wines are never chargeable with being too weak nor too acid, for the artist knows that weakness and acidity are not qualities which make a wine saleable; he, therefore, avoids this error, but in making a natural wine we have not the same discretion—the wine must be made according to the composition of the grape juice; and if this is deficient in the proper proportion of sugar, a weak and acid wine must be the result, unless art interferes to obtain greater maturity in the fruit, or adds those constituents which the wine demands to enable it to compete in market with established European brands. The quantity of alcohol, as found in the Hammond wine of 1859, seems to be less than the Catawba juice was capable of furnishing. We do not know now what its sweetness really was—we do not know what the difference may be—between selected bunches of Catawba grapes and the average of a whole vineyard. We have noticed different degrees of sweetness in bunches from the same vine, as well as in bunches from different vines. When all are gathered on a certain day it is certain that all are not equally mature, and possibly none are as mature as they might be. Placing vineyards "under the ban" may be advantageous until we acquire more experience in determining the maturity of the fruit—at least every vine grower can put his own vineyard under his own ban, until by the processes which I have detailed he has ascertained that his fruit has acquired the maximum maturity; then his labor as a vine grower is completed, and his care should be transferred to the press and the cellar, where he will be rewarded for his skill and patience by having a rich juice capable of undergoing the subsequent processes, and producing a rich wine, without the accidents of the acetic, mucilaginous, or putrefactive fermentations. The joys of the vintage will not be turned into sorrow, nor the wine into vinegar. Rich juices alone can make wine, poor juices make vinegar; and he who can ferment a rich juice, is sure to make a rich, sound, and saleable wine.

Table of Specific Gravity and Acidity of Grape Juice observed at different dates during the Summer of 1860—acidity computed in grains contained in one ounce of the juice.

DATE.		Sp. Gr.	Gns.
July 29	Warren, Sasportes, Charleston	1065	3.78
29	Black July, Yeadon, Kalmia .....	....	2.55
Aug. 1	Norton, Mayrant, Columbia	1077	3.66
1	Catawba, Augusta	1043	3.66
4	Warren, Thomson, Charleston	1057	4.11
4	Isabella, green, Columbia, } one bunch {	1040	6.73
4	Isabella, colored, Columbia, }	1059	2.82
	Warren, Dangerfield, green, Charleston	1048	4.05
	Black July, Chisolm, Charleston	1067	2.13
	Warren, Witpen, Charleston	1065	3.79
	Warren, Kalb, green, and fermented fourteen days ..	....	7.89
	Warren, Simons, green, and fermented fourteen days ..	....	7.75
	Warren, Dufort, Charleston	1070	3.96
	Warren, Columbia	1069	3.88
	Isabella, fermented for ten days .....	....	3.36
13	Norton, tincture, Columbia	1013	3.15
	Norton, second pressing from water	1002	1.21
	Norton, juice, with alcohol	1023	....
	Norton, tincture and second pressing mixed	1008	....
16	Warren, Sasportes, Charleston	1084	1.78
16	Black July, Chisolm, Charleston	1078	1.86
18	Catawba, Augusta	1080	1.26
18	Red Lenoir, Mayrant, Columbia	1092	3.43
	Norton, Mayrant, Columbia	1080	2.40
24	Catawba, Ravenel, Aiken	1083	0.82
	Isabella, purple, Ravenel, Aiken, } one bunch { ...	1090	0.49
	Isabella, green, Ravenel, Aiken, }	1057	2.95
	Blande's Madeira, Ravenel, Aiken	1078	0.69
	Warren, Mazyck, Aiken	1077	0.91
	Pauline, Mazyck, Aiken	1088	1.00
	Pauline, Mazyck, Aiken, another vine	1081	1.21
	Warren, Dudley, Orangeburgh	1070	1.17
26	Black July, Mazyck, Aiken	1096	1.56
	Blande's Madeira, Mazyck, Aiken	1087	1.57
	Isabella, Mazyck, Aiken	1076	1.45
	Catawba, Crowell, Bluffton	1085	2.34
	Catawba, Crowell, Bluffton	1090	1.57
30	Warren, Millar, Charleston	1069	1.36
	Catawba, Cook, Kaolin, near Aiken	1083	0.84
Sept. 9	Catawba, Cook, Kaolin, eleven days after plucking ..	1102	1.07
	Catawba, Cook, Kaolin, two days after plucking ..	1081	1.15
10	Blande's Madeira, Cook, Kaolin	1094	1.71
12	Seupernong, Ravenel, Aiken	1073	1.12
15	Catawba, Cook, Kaolin	1088	1.18
	Black July, Cook, Kaolin	1108	2.19
	Warren, Cook, Kaolin	1097	1.84
16	Warren, Dangerfield, Charleston	1070	1.33

DATE.		Sf. Gr.	Grs.
Sept. 17	Little wild grape, Hammond, Redcliffe	1093	....
	Large wild grape, Hammond, Redcliffe	1059	2.37
	Green wild grape, Hammond, Redcliffe	1047	3.13
25	Catawba, Cook, sound	1089	1.65
	Catawba, Cook, rotting	1096	2.85
27	Blue grape from New York, called Isabella	1038	3.63
29	Catawba, New York	1060	3.69

N. B.—The specific gravities in the table above were taken at temperatures ranging between 80° and 90°, when the 1000-grain bottle was constructed for a temperature of 64°: hence a correction becomes necessary. The recorded numbers may be considered to be 3 grains below the true specific gravity, hence the addition of 3 will approximate the true specific gravity. When great accuracy is required, the instrument can be adjusted for each daily operation by filling the bottle with water at the temperature of the air and the juice, and making it equipoise by the addition or subtraction of weights to or from the counterpoise. It is manifest, if the instrument be true to water it must be also true to any other fluid whose specific gravity is required.

● ON THE PRESERVATION OF GRAPE JUICE.

Our hopes and prospects thus far are founded upon the success of excavated cellars to moderate the ardor of an August sun, and secure a proper temperature to the fermenting juice, and upon the introduction and cultivation of later maturing varieties of grapes. But while these improvements are in progress, or in the event of their impracticability, we should seek out other plans by which the present condition of things may be ameliorated. I have clearly shown that the purely manufactured wines of Aiken are either too acid or too weak in spirits—that these defects proceed from immaturity of the grape, and from the high temperature of the must during fermentation. The high temperature induces two evils which are injurious to wine, viz: the loss of alcohol by its conversion into acetic acid, and its loss by more rapid evaporation during the exposure of fermentation. The presumed richness of the Catawba juice employed in the production of the Hammond wine of 1859, should have afforded more alcohol than the analysis exhibited. The difference of saccharine matter between the Rhenish and Catawba musts could not have been as great as the respective quantities of alcohol indicated; hence, some loss must have occurred somewhere, and this loss was most probably during fermentation by spontaneous evaporation. Ruin follows the removal of the cork from a bottle of the best French wine, not only by contact with air, exciting the acetic fermentation, but by the evaporation of the alcohol, and consequent loss of the preservative element of the whole compound. The antiseptic power of alcohol is well known, yet it might not have occurred to my readers to refer the preservation and durability of wine to the alcohol which it contains.

This fact becomes evident when we evaporate or distil off the alcohol from wine. It is no longer wine—the other constituents undergo changes, and putrefaction is the result. The term “boiled wines” is a misnomer; the wine when made is not boiled, it is the grape juice from which the wine is to be made that is boiled, in order to concentrate the sugar and produce a richer material to generate a greater quantity of alcohol. The strong, sweet wines of Spain are of this kind, in which the production of a determinate quantity of alcohol suspends the vinous fermentation and preserves the excess of sugar from further change. The due adjustment of the alcohol to the sugar and the antiseptic quality of the former preventing any further change in the latter, is the whole secret involved in the manufacture of the wines of Madeira, Xeres and Oporto; while the wines of France and Germany purport to be made from the unadulterated juice of the grape, as it comes from the vineyard. Such may be true, but there is a large consumption of brandy and starch sugar in the wine regions, which may be used to strengthen the wines which are to be exported to England and the United States. The employment of brandy and sugar to construct a good wine is notorious; and it may truly be said, if these materials are omitted, the wine is weak and acid, and not adapted to the English or American taste; but when they are skilfully “fretted in” and judiciously proportioned, we have a wine worthy of the highest laudation. The unrivalled Madeira, so esteemed in South Carolina, so early introduced—for Mr. Peter Purry commended its virtues in 1731—and so long continued as the favorite of the state, is a compound of this description. I have already shown that no natural grape juice ever contained the quantity of alcohol and sugar which is found in Madeira, sherry or port wine; hence, from whence was it derived? Simply by additions made to the must previous to fermentation, or to the wine after fermentation. Both practices are common; and so long as art can improve nature and produce such an article as “old Madeira,” the pure and unsophisticated wines of France and Germany will remain undesirable. Aiken may choose her own standard of wine. She can avoid both extremes. Neither make the weak and acid wines of France and Germany, nor yet the strong and sweet wines of Spain, Portugal and Italy. There is a medium which may suit all tastes, and that medium can be reached by science, by experiment, and by practice.

We can select methods from all the European wine makers, and adapt them to our circumstances, to our tastes, and to our habits. We are habitually an “ardent spirit” drinking people, and this habit can only be cured by substituting a more moderate and pleasanter beverage than whiskey or brandy. It is the alcohol of the wine or whiskey that charms the world, and acetic acid cannot be substituted for it even if it be the fer-

mented juice of the grape. The conversion of grape juice into wine is an art, and he who can prepare the most palatable wine is considered to be the best and most successful artist, and the question is not whether he adds sugar to the recent must, or brandy to the weak, fermented wine—one or the other is done, and the amended wine is pronounced to be good; and no charge of adulteration has ever been sustained against the wine-houses of Funchal, where the last complement to the thirtieth gallon of brandy is added to each pipe of Madeira wine before it is considered worthy to sustain the reputation of the exporting house in a foreign market. That a great deal of this added brandy evaporates there is no question; but experience has taught the merchants that this quantity is requisite to supply deficiencies, and still to retain a sufficiency to secure durability to the wine. Adulteration implies something not only foreign, but injurious; and the world has never decided that sugar and brandy are either foreign or injurious to wine. They are the natural primary and secondary productions of the grape; and if one gallon of juice cannot furnish a sufficiency to make and preserve one gallon of wine, two gallons are used with the suppression of half of the water. A weak juice may be concentrated by boiling: that is, by removing half the water we virtually double the quantity of sugar; but there is an objection to the process, for with the water we abstract the aroma, and thus lose an important element in the composition of wine. By distilling an inferior wine we obtain not only the alcohol that was in the wine, but the aroma also; and if this be added to another wine, we concentrate in one portion the valuable constituents which were previously distributed through both. We accumulate what is valuable, and reject what is valueless. We make one good article out of two inferior ones, which under no construction of language can be called an adulteration. The Madeira wine drinkers scarcely know that in the consumption of one glass of wine they are consuming the constituents of three, and possibly four glasses of grape juice, less the water which has been removed; and yet it is expected that the normal juice of an Aiken grape can make a wine to compete with Madeira under the judgment of these amateurs.

The chemical compound alcohol has been brought into disrepute by the zealous labors of the temperance advocates. They have proclaimed its dangers, they have denounced it a poison, they have prohibited its use except for medical purposes. Has it no redeeming virtue—may not a temperate use prolong life and sustain health as well as restore health? Is there no difference between use and abuse? and cannot the world discriminate between them? Temperance in all things is commendable; but if a morbid appetite prevails, which too often does, temperance is overpowered and drunkenness rules. The abuse of alcohol is no argument against its moderate use, and cannot

be opposed to the authoritative advice of St. Paul, who recommends to Timothy to "drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." The attempt to substitute wine for whiskey is wise and laudable, and should not be opposed on the fancied hypothesis that alcohol is a poison in every form or quantity. The experience of the world has shown that wine is the most commendable form in which alcohol may be used, and practice has demonstrated that it is the most agreeable. The cost of wine has been a drawback to its use, and, so far, has been reserved to those in comfortable circumstances, while the more potent and dangerous whiskey has been the common drink of the poorer classes, accompanied with the high prerogative to dilute it or not, according to the morbidity of the taste or the progress of intoxication. The wine drinker does not enjoy so great a liberty; his alcohol is already diluted to the wholesome standard, and the only privilege that he enjoys is to dilute it still further, but he is debarred all power to make it stronger.

To construct or preserve a wine without a due proportion of alcohol is a natural impossibility. The alcohol is an essential element, without which it cannot be wine. Alcohol, brandy and wine only differ from each other in the quantity of water, sugar, essential oils and acids which are present or absent. Wine is the most complex, for it contains alcohol, sugar, essential oils, acids and water, to the amount of 80 to 90 per cent. Brandy, a corruption of the German Brantwein, that is distilled wine, contains alcohol, the essential oils, and water, to the amount of 47 to 50 per cent., while alcohol is presumed to be free from all essential oils or water. The relationship thus existing between wine and alcohol is seen to be so intimate that the removal of the alcohol destroys the wine, while the addition of alcohol makes the poorer wines rich, hence more costly and more in demand. The dread and aversion which modern lecturers have displayed against alcohol in every form of combination amounts to superstition and fanaticism, against which reason may labor in vain; we, therefore, propose to show that with its many acknowledged evils it has some virtues, and, like many other things, it is valuable to mankind when judiciously used and not inordinately abused.

Alcohol, like salt, is an antiseptic, and as such may be as valuable for some purposes as salt. During the fourteenth century the seaport towns of Europe enjoyed the luxury of fresh herrings, while the interior towns were deprived of them. Millions were daily caught, and millions daily spoiled. In this dilemma it occurred to one William Denkelzoon, a fisherman of Biervliet, in the then Flanders, to contrive a plan by which the herrings could be preserved. He experimented with salt, and perfectly succeeded at the close of the century. The result of this simple discovery was that, during the fifteenth century, preserved her-

rings were distributed all over Europe, and Holland still enjoys the reputation of producing "Dutch herrings," which are known in every market. The discovery of Denkelzoon called into requisition 3,000 vessels and 450,000 men, and was the foundation of the subsequent naval power of Holland. So much for a preservative to so insignificant an article as a "dead herring." What would be the porcine wealth of the Western states without the knowledge of the Dutch fisherman's discovery? It is true that the art of smoking herrings was a subsequent discovery by an unknown citizen of Dieppe, in France. Yet the knowledge of the two processes of salting and smoking has enabled the Western states to send "Cincinnati bacon" all over the world without apprehension of loss, and it stands in the remotest regions side by side with the pickled and smoked herrings of Holland. The preservative power of salt and smoke over fish and flesh has produced an influence in the world that few imagine. It has equalized soil and climate through the medium of commerce. It has distributed the excess of production to the mutual advantage of the consumer and producer, and increased production to correspond to the increased consumption.

The story of Denkelzoon contains a moral which is applicable to Aiken. There may be produced there any quantity of grape juice in the months of August of each successive year, and, like the herrings of Holland, is incapable of preservation. Salting and smoking is inapplicable to grape juice. The Dutch discovery is then of no value; but the principle of preservation suggests a substitute for salt and smoke—and this substitute is the much abused alcohol. It is as efficient in its preservative powers as salt, and is easily removed when its services are no longer required. In this respect it is superior to salt and smoke, for they combine so intimately with the fish and flesh that the separation is impossible. He would be an equal benefactor to mankind who would teach us how to restore salted viands to their original freshness. Yet the same end has been accomplished by a method of preservation which obviates the use of salt. It is founded on the fact that putrefaction cannot commence or proceed except in the presence of the oxygen of the air; and if this be excluded by sealing the material to be preserved in tin cases, the end is perfectly accomplished. Examples of this mode of preservation are familiar to all house-keepers who indulge in the luxuries of distant climates in the forms of salmon, lobsters, tomatoes, etc.

The application of this plan of preservation is obviously impracticable to grape juice, in consequence of the expense and delicacy of the operation of sealing. There then remains but one plan by which the August grape juice can be preserved until winter, or for any indefinite period, and that is by calling into requisition the antiseptic properties of alcohol. We apply

the principle of Denkelzoon in the selection of a more appropriate article than salt, and have every expectation that the use of alcohol, in preserving the juices of fruit for transportation and distribution, will effect the same beneficial ends in these Southern states that the preservation of herrings has effected in Holland. By its use, we conquer the disability of climate and the frailty of the fruit. If nature has designed the grape to grow, and come to its highest perfection in a warm climate, and has also ordained that vinous fermentation can only be safely conducted in a cool one, we have the power, by the aid of the antiseptic properties of alcohol, safely to transport the preserved juice to a more northern region for fermentation, or to retain it at home until the genial winter comes to us and brings with it a temperature suitable to our necessities. Until we can alter the course of nature, it is wise to alter our plans to suit the course of nature. If the high temperature of August prohibits the manufacture of wine in Aiken, and the use of alcohol enables us to preserve the juice for transportation to New York or Cincinnati, where it can be immediately sold; or, still better, to keep it in our frame houses until winter, when it can be fermented, we certainly owe a debt of gratitude to alcohol, and must acknowledge that it possesses one virtue, even if that one be linked with ten thousand vices. That alcohol possesses this property is now no longer a question. I have in my possession grape and pineapple juices which are now more than one year old, and are still perfect. The original sugar still remains unchanged in these juices, and the added alcohol has played the same preservative part that the alcohol produced by the fermentation of the sugar would have done, had the fermentation been allowed under favorable circumstances. It is truly an extemporaneous wine, in which the alcohol of starch sugar has been substituted for the alcohol of grape sugar, and the grape sugar remains unimpaired for any future use to which it may be directed, either to continue to sweeten the compound, or to strengthen it by its subsequent conversion into alcohol. If the preservative power of all wine is derived from the alcohol it contains, it was certainly not an exercise of extraordinary genius to predict that the addition of alcohol to grape juice would preserve it, for it was nothing more than the conversion of grape juice into wine, by supplying the deficiency that the absence of fermentation had left vacant. That the principle was not before applied to grape juice is probably owing to the common impression that wine is produced, not made by human hands or human skill; that it would be sacrilege to mix the base alcohol—the devil's own handiwork—as an ingredient of the Lord's anointed wine; that the mysterious process of fermentation is dispensed with, and the compound thus made cannot be wine, for it does not accord with the definition as set down in the dictionaries.

Alcohol is alleged to be made from grain, which has no affinity, relationship or similarity to the grape; hence, grape juice strengthened with alcohol is not wine, physically nor chemically; it is the abominable alcohol diluted with sweet grape juice, and as such should not be patronized nor consumed by a temperate people, when we can obtain the legitimate wine from those regions where, with the blessing of God and the experience of the people, the genuine article is produced, and contains no other element than what originally existed in the grape. The expression of such views are common, and the tendency is to discourage all endeavors to produce a purer wine than any which is imported. Can there be any possible difference between wines which are brandied abroad and those which are whiskied at home, except in the difference of flavor? Can there be any difference between brandy and whiskey, except in the flavoring material? The same quantity of alcohol is the foundation of both, which in one case is derived from the sugar of the grape, and in the other from the sugar of the grain. These sugars are so identical in their composition, that they go under the common names of grape sugar, fruit sugar, or starch sugar, and can be made and are made to supply each other whenever occasion demands. The manufacture of starch sugar is carried on extensively in Europe to supply the saccharinal deficiency of the grape, both in the production of wine and brandy; hence, all solicitude about the adulteration of the grape by the grain is imaginary and futile. The brandy is added to the wine to obtain the benefit of the alcohol which it contains. I propose to add the alcohol directly; and if this alcohol be freed from its dangerous and disagreeable essential oils, we have a purer article than brandy or whiskey, and certainly a cheaper material. The object and intention of adding alcohol to recent grape juice is to preserve it through the months of August, September and October unchanged by fermentation. During the month of November, the cold weather is sufficiently established and continuous in Aiken to conduct the vinous fermentation without the apprehension of the acetic; hence wine, not vinegar, can then be made. As the wine is not to be immediately made, the anxiety for an early and untimely vintage will not exist. The grapes may be allowed to come to full maturity, and they may be gathered in any quantity as they perfectly mature. No determinate quantity is daily requisite to fill a vat or cask; any quantity may be put into any cask, without the necessity of filling it. The casks may be daily or weekly opened to receive additional quantities, without any danger of destruction. The function of fermentation is completely suspended, and it will endure as long in this condition as if the fermentation had been accomplished and the wine actually made according to the definition. Chemically, the wine is made; but according to the taste of the people,

vitiated by the use of the strong or acid wines of Europe, it is decided to be too sweet. The labor and patience of the wine grower to accumulate the greatest quantity of sugar and to get rid of the greatest quantity of acid, is lost. We have only changed an acid wine for a sweet one, except that we have changed a wine that could not be drank for one which can be relished by some, especially the ladies, who, being sweet themselves, can appreciate sweetness in other things, and to their care and patronage I commit the destiny of the sweet wine, which can so easily and certainly be made from every garden vine in the state. For the sterner sex, this sweetness must be removed, and strength substituted—in other words, we must transform the native sugar into alcohol by the subsequently-induced process of vinous fermentation. Thus, from the grapes of the same vine, we may make a wine to suit both husband and wife, and thus restore the harmony that is occasionally interrupted in consequence of diversity of taste: one preferring the strong, the other the sweet; one refusing to purchase the sweet, the other refusing to drink the strong.

When a vine is held as common property, and the wife knows her rights and dares to maintain them, some sweet wine will be reserved for her use; and if this be doubted, the process is so simple that she can secure her share of the fruit, manufacture her own wine, and preserve it safely for herself and friends. I know a case in Charleston where the wife took possession of the whole arbor, and converted its produce into sweet wine to the amount of thirteen gallons, which the husband relishes as well as she does. Her previous attempts to make wine on the European plan universally failed and ended in vinegar; now she rejoices that she has found a use for a grape vine, and intends hereafter to manufacture all her own wine. A Frenchman of this city, who was possessor of some celebrated imported vines, as he believed, and had often failed to produce a wine, resolved to try my process, as published in the *Courier* of the 10th March, 1860. Being a working man, he could only devote the evening to the experiment, so he gathered his ripest bunches, then gathered his family and set all hands to detach the grapes from the stems, in which operation the children were efficient; he then provided a tub and log of wood, with which the grapes were mashed; the elder members of the family were furnished with towels, through which the juice was squeezed and deposited in another tub. When the mechanical processes were over, the juice was measured and found to be eight gallons; one gallon of good alcohol was added, and the contents were distributed in bottles equal to nine gallons of wine—forty-five bottles. This compound has suffered no fermentation nor deterioration of any kind, and the manufacturer is happy and proud to offer his "*vin de liqueur*" to any one who desires a glass or two. The skins and pulp demanded his

next attention. Did he give these to the cow? Oh, no; the flavor, the coloring matter, and some portion of the acid and sugar were contained in the skins and pulp, and they were to be preserved for future use, hence he placed the mare, as it is called by wine makers, into large-mouthed jars and bottles, covered it with equal portions of alcohol and water, previously mixed, and closely covered them with large corks and put them away. What future uses will be made of it will hereafter appear, for there are many, and it is difficult to say what is the best. Suffice it to say for the present, that after the expiration of fourteen or more days the mare may be removed from the jars and submitted to pressure with the towel or otherwise. The clear liquid which is obtained may be placed in bottles, together with some water, which has been used to drench and rinse the mare after pressure. This liquid, which I have called the tincture of the grape, on tasting will be found to be high-flavored and strong, and, perhaps, sufficiently sweet for many tastes. If not, an addition of some of the preserved juice supplies this defect. If too strong, a little water corrects that evil. In fact, it can be adjusted according to taste, simply by measuring proportions and tasting, and when we are suited, prepare a quantity for future use according to those proportions. I have found that three parts of tincture are sufficiently sweetened by one part of juice, and forms a better beverage than either the preserved juice or the tincture. The whole process of preservation may be simplified, but not improved, by digesting the mare and must together, with about one-fifth of its volume of alcohol; after the advent of cool weather, it may be strained, pressed, washed, and pressed again, and a rich juice will be obtained, suitable to any subsequent purpose to which it may be designed. If designed for immediate use, the delay for cool weather is unnecessary. The advantage gained is the omission of one pressure, and the disadvantage is a greater number of large-mouthed vessels which will be required, with the corresponding difficulties of keeping them tight, if not made expressly for the purpose; however, domestic ingenuity, I trust, will overcome all these difficulties.

ART. VIII.—THE COTTON INTEREST, AND ITS RELATION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS.

Having an abiding faith in the potent influence of "King Cotton," the writer is free to confess that he had anticipated an earlier movement on behalf of England and France, as the powers most largely interested, looking to the supplying of their manufactories, before the effect of a diminishing stock

should have so materially enhanced the value, to say nothing of the political results likely to follow the curtailment of labor. Certainly, the "Cotton Supply Association" had never before so good an opportunity of pressing upon the government their claims to attention and support, and, viewing the subject from their stand-point, their efforts are commendable enough. But we cannot for a moment believe that the shrewd and far-seeing statesmen and merchants of England entertained any expectation of supplying the immediate demand for raw cotton outside of the Southern Confederacy. The combined power and wealth of Great Britain could not accomplish it, if silly enough to make the attempt.

Under the stimulus of a pressing necessity and high prices, and by diverting from the Chinese market part of its usual supply, about 988,000 bales have been drawn from India, equal in weight to about 750,000 bales of American, and greatly deficient in quality. We venture the prediction, that so much will not be received from the same source in 1862.

Notwithstanding these powerful influences, the supply received from Egypt and Brazil was ten per cent. less in 1861 than the year before. The receipts at Liverpool from Africa were 1,600 bales in 1860, and only 1,300 in 1861. From the West Indies 5,500 bales in 1860, and 6,500 in 1861.

The time will undoubtedly come when, from various parts of the world, a larger supply of raw cotton will be derived; but, in the meantime, the demand will have increased in a larger ratio. Commerce is the hand-maiden of civilization; and the wild or ignorant tribes who may hereafter become the producers of cotton, will become consumers of the manufactured article.

We must look for other grounds on which to account for the long-delayed action of foreign governments. It seems very clear that, what with the old and deep-rooted prejudice against slavery, the double fact that the South was deprived of all postal and commercial intercourse with other nations, and that all that was known about us abroad was derived from the most false, malignant and debased press in the world, prompted by the most corrupt and venal government that ever disgraced a professedly civilized country, if we could get behind the scenes of the state departments on this and the other side of the Atlantic, we should probably find Jonathan pledging himself to John to do that which he knew to be impossible, and the latter believing him for want of better information. When, however, the British government and people awoke to a knowledge of the facts as they really existed, both interest and sympathy inclined them toward the South. Finding, however, that to do that which interest and sympathy, rather than inclination, prompted, it must come in conflict with an unprincipled government, and a reckless and infuriated mob to back it, the

English government found it necessary to take some little time for preparation. We can already see the "beginning of the end;" but there seems little doubt that if our great Southern king had not interposed, and compelled them to respect his silvery locks, the governments of Europe would have left us alone to fight it out. Six months ago the South had no friends, and now the North has none. We have bought our new friends, let us hereafter compel them to respect us; we can hold them only by the ties of interest and of fear.

Much has been said and written about the policy of curtailing the growth of cotton, for the purpose of enhancing its value, or making other nations feel the want of that for which they *professed* to care so little.

Nothing could be more impolitic; and any legislative or conventional action looking to this end, is simply absurd. While we admit the fact, that years must elapse, before any very material addition can be made to the production of other countries, especially of quantities analagous to New Orleans cotton, still, there is no reason why we should force the wealth and enterprise of England and France, to test their utmost ability in this direction. It is clearly for our interest to supply the general demand, at a fair and remunerative price. So long as we do this, we defy competition and hold all Europe at our feet. It would be neither neighborly nor politic to flaunt defiance in the face of the world; though the cord that binds be never so strong, let it be so finely drawn as not to attract observation.

While every article of staple food should be raised at home, and coarse fabrics of cotton and wool, shoes, implements of husbandry, and the heavier work of cast and wrought iron should be manufactured in the Southern Confederacy; still, for all goods requiring cheap labor and careful manipulation, especially when the material is the product of other countries, we should go into the markets of the world, where the products of our soil would be gladly received in exchange. We are as essential an agricultural as Great Britain is a manufacturing and maritime nation. Commercial reciprocity is the surest basis of permanent peace and national prosperity.

Notwithstanding the antagonism of feeling, race and character, the North and South would yet be united, had not the former lost sight of this fundamental truth, and sought by coercion to obtain from us what they were not willing to grant in return.

We have frequently been inquired of by planters, "What would you recommend us to do as regards preparing to grow another crop?" The reply has uniformly been: make, first, all you can possibly for your own use, both of food and clothing; and in addition, *as much cotton as you conveniently can.*

Under the existing state of the country, and with the expe-

rience of the past four years pressing so severely upon the attention of planters, there is no probability that more cotton will be raised the coming year than will find a ready market. In all the northern portion of the cotton belt, grain will take very largely the place of cotton, for the present; while over the whole country, more or less labor will be diverted into other channels. On the supposition that, of the past crop, 3,500,000 bales will be available so soon as the blockade is raised, and that 3,000,000 will be grown the coming season, we have, then, for two years use.....6,500,000
 add total stock in Europe, 1st January last.....1,000,000
 add product of other countries, two years.....2,000,000

we have supply for two years, say.....9,500,000
 bales on a broad basis of calculation.

The actual amount taken for consumption during 1859 and 1860 was 9,525,000 bales; during which time the amount produced by other countries than the United States was but 1,705,000, or 300,000 less than the very liberal estimate made for this and next year.

The present offers an excellent opportunity for cotton planters to turn more attention to spinning and weaving, when they have the means. To repair fences, dwellings, gin-houses, negro quarters; clear out their ditches, etc. All such needful work has been more or less overlooked during the speculative excitement of the past few years. The great crop of 1859-60 was made too much at the expense of corn, etc., the scarcity of which has had so important a share in bringing about the large indebtedness of the planting community—the Providential influence of drought had not all to do with it. If the course indicated above be carried out, we shall then be in a position in 1863 to raise such a crop of cotton as the wants of the world may demand: the independence of the Southern Confederacy and unrestricted trade with Europe being considered a foregone conclusion.

The tables which follow give, first—the supply from the different parts of the world for eight years; underneath which will be found the average price of Middling Cotton in New Orleans for thirty-two weeks of the year, during which the bulk of the crop is sold, the number of bales received during the month of August, and date of killing frost in each year. The second table gives the consumption of the different portions of the world for the same period. Both the consumption and production of the past year are estimated, excepting of the United States—our tables being made up to the 1st of September, while in Europe they are made up to 1st of January ensuing. About 195,000 bales, raised in this country, are consumed in the interior factories, and, not being shipped to any port, are not included in either table.

SUPPLY IN EUROPE AND UNITED STATES.

	1860-61.	1859-60.	1858-59.	1857-58.	1856-57.	1855-56.	1854-55.	1853-54.
United States.....	3,700,000	4,676,000	3,851,500	3,114,000	2,939,500	3,528,000	2,847,500	2,930,000
East Indies.....		573,000	514,000	460,000	738,000	472,000	393,000	308,000
Brazil.....	1,250,000	106,000	130,000	126,000	190,000	158,000	165,000	140,000
Egypt.....		158,000	149,000	137,000	130,000	182,000	194,000	160,000
West Indies.....		47,000	30,000	34,000	38,000	31,000	31,000	22,000
Total.....	4,950,000	5,580,000	4,674,500	3,801,000	4,035,500	4,371,000	3,630,500	3,560,000
Av. p'ce Mid. in N.O.	11	10½	11½	11	12½	9½	8½	8½
Bales n. c. to Sept. 1.	36,670	9,008	4,834	23	1,166	23,282	1,391	74
Date of killing frost.	Oct. 15.	Oct. 30.	Nov. 16.	Nov. 10.	Oct. 8.	Oct. 24.	Nov. 14.	Oct. 25.

CONSUMPTION OF EUROPE AND UNITED STATES.

Great Britain.....	2,390,000	2,633,000	2,294,000	2,175,000	1,961,000	2,264,000	2,099,000	1,967,000
United States.....	650,000	792,000	760,000	462,000	702,000	653,000	594,000	611,000
France.....	630,000	621,000	525,000	517,000	447,000	526,000	479,000	423,000
Holla'd & Belgium.....			189,000	154,000	155,000	179,000	152,000	161,000
Spain.....			118,000	112,000	90,000	122,000	114,000	97,000
Germ'y, Baltic, etc.	1,400,000	1,967,000	406,000	420,000	296,000	391,000	329,000	
Trieste and Genoa.....			119,000	138,000	130,000	155,000	143,000	425,000
Total.....	5,070,000	5,113,000	4,411,000	3,968,000	3,781,000	4,290,000	3,910,000	3,684,000

In allusion to the above tables it is proper to state that, at the close of 1860, English spinners were known to hold more than 100,000 bales in excess of what they had a year before, so that the actual consumption was only 2,530,000 bales; and, inasmuch as at the latest date they held less by about 130,000 than at the opening of the year, the actual amount used in 1861 will be about 2,520,000 bales, or thereabouts; thus, the annual quantity manufactured will not present so wide a difference.

On the 1st of January, 1861, the continental manufacturers were said to hold 150,000 bales more than usual, yet the combined export to the continent during 1861, from this country and England, was fully as large as the year before; at the same time, we are given to understand that they are now no better supplied with stock relatively than in England. If this be true, there has been an increase rather than falling off in continental manufactures.

Neither the annual statements from Great Britain or the continent are yet at hand. The latest reliable accounts from Liverpool are to the 27th of December, and giving the business of that port only. The amount taken for consumption was 2,180,000 bales, against 2,526,000 the year before—a difference of only 346,000, notwithstanding the high prices—while spinners only held about 70,000 bales, against 183,000 a year ago. The stock on hand was of all sorts 558,700 packages, of which only 216,000 were American, with about 70,000 bales only known to be afloat from India, Brazil and Egypt. During the

first seven months of the year, nearly 51,000 bales per week were taken for consumption and 13,000 bales for export, say in all 64,000. At present, about 32,000 are being bought for home use and 8,000 for the continent, say in all 40,000 bales. At this rate and allowing 150,000 for import, the entire supply will be exhausted by the first of May. Another important fact must not be overlooked, namely: that the proportion of American cotton used per month is 5-7ths, or 5,000 bales, against 2,000 of other sorts, so far as home consumption is concerned; of the exports, about 2-5ths are American. On this basis of calculation, it would seem that the supply of American cannot last beyond the first week of March, without allowing a bale for export; though, by a further curtailment of time, the final stoppage of machinery may be postponed to April. The holders of the debris of the dusty crops of 1858 and 1859, will be able to dispose of it at a handsome profit; such as could not be sold at three pence, will now realize perhaps eight.

On the supposition that the blockade were raised on the first of March even, cotton could not go forward fast enough even by steamers to meet immediately pressing wants; the London Economist of January 4th, estimates the amount from India, Brazil, etc., to be received by the end of June, at only 300,000 bales—it is always the case that the largest receipts from those sources come to hand during the fall months.

This is a state of things sufficiently embarrassing and critical, so far as other nations are concerned, and cannot possibly be of long continuance. In the absence of positive information, we may infer either that under the combined demand of England and France, backed by the presence of a fleet, for the fulfilment of treaty obligations, the government at Washington will raise the blockade, perhaps by the time this appears in print, or that the combined powers will do it by force at a very early day—the former seems most probable.

Though the value of cotton may be kept up to a high figure for some months to come on the other side of the water, still, so soon as the first shipments are at hand, there must be a gradual decline till middlings get down to about 9d., below which they are not likely to go so long as there is any disturbance of commercial relations, and consequent uncertainty as to the future supply.

On this side, many circumstances will combine against the value of cotton; though prices may be good they are not likely to be very high, because so soon as trade opens the supply will be continuous up to the summer of 1863; freights, insurance and exchange, will all be against us. If the ports were now open, the crop lately gathered could not be brought to market before the next would be forthcoming; the railroads would be fully occupied, but, so far as the Mississippi valley is concerned, there are not steamboats enough available, even if the interior

rivers should keep up. On the waters of Alabama the war has not reduced the tonnage very materially, and a larger proportion would come to market before summer. As regards the crops of Texas, upper Red river, Arkansas, Washita and Yazoo, as well as the bayous of Louisiana, a large quantity will necessarily lie over till next winter. No accumulation of stock can occur at the ports, as the receipts will be taken off as fast as they come to hand.

The crop of 1861 will be good in staple, but a large portion low in quality in other respects, as the result of rainy weather during the earlier picking season, the extensive prevalence of rot, the injury done by worms in dusting the pods with excrement and fragments of leaf, less care than usual in gathering, and the injury resulting from housing so much in pens and sheds in the fields. Up to the middle of August, the prospects were favorable, but from that period to the first week in October, the rains were general and constant, causing too much growth of weed, and the loss by rotting and shedding of a large portion of the bottom and middle crop. The good picking weather in October and November, fortunate as it was, fell very far short of compensating for the loss during the earlier part of the season; and but for the long, open fall, three millions of bales could not have been gathered, as it turned out the old hills have this year yielded the best, and the low, rich lands the poorest crops, especially in the extreme South, where the caterpillar did very extensive damage. The diversion of land from cotton to grain, in the northern portion of the Confederacy, was of itself greatly instrumental in reducing the aggregate yield in 1861; during the present year, the same will be, to some extent, the case everywhere; but in Texas, and all the northern part of the cotton-growing states, the crop planted will be very much smaller than last year; and should the season not be very favorable, it is scarcely possible that three millions of bales will be raised.

Since the foregoing was written, later accounts are at hand, showing the stock actually in Liverpool the 1st of January to have been 623,000 bales, or about 80,000 more than was expected—the increase being chiefly in American descriptions; this, at 40,000 bales per week for consumption and export, would be consumed by the 20th of April. Only about 80,000 bales were known to be afloat to arrive by April, which will give two more weeks supply. *These facts are extracted from a private letter.* The receipts from other sources than the United States the first four months of 1860 were 350,000 bales, and much larger last year. This bears out the opinion before expressed, that the East India supply has been exhausted. Without having access to an annual Liverpool statement, we have published accounts said to have come from that source, to the effect that the consumption of Great Britain in 1861 was

2,391,000 bales, and of the continent of Europe 2,030,000. If this be correct, the increase in the amount manufactured on the continent is much greater than we were justified in predicting. The tables above have been made to correspond as nearly as possible. "King Cotton" holds the balance of power, and will make his influence felt.

If the published accounts of the large consumption of continental Europe prove to be correct, the raw material there must be almost entirely exhausted. The English consumption was nearly equal to that of 1860, notwithstanding the enhanced value of the raw material; so that we may infer not only that the pressure upon foreign governments will compel them to get cotton by some means before summer, but that high prices must continue to rule for some time to come.

ART. IX.—MORAL AND NATURAL LAW CONTRADISTINGUISHED.

There is not a relation in social life that is not intimately connected with the philosophy which distinguishes moral from natural government.

The great Dr. Samuel Johnson remarked, that naturally all men were dishonest, but that they were honest from education. Why did he discriminate between nature and education?

Can education alter the disposition by nature, *i. e.*, change the nature of the human disposition? If it can, it must be by the use and employment of some principle or agency other than the natural, and that must be moral principle. If we can alter and change the disposition given by nature, by the use and employment of moral principles, the two of themselves can neither be identical or harmonious. Moral principles must answer a *better* purpose than nature and her disposition of the character, or they would not be *preferred* in human education.

Is it natural for men to marry? We say it is not. Men are *educated to prefer it*. Nature points to unrestrained indulgence. The marriage relation is under the government of moral restraints. Nature is not. Let us, therefore, carefully distinguish between nature and the right. The slavery relation is also affected by this philosophy. How often is it declared by its enemies that slavery is an *unnatural* thing—a thing opposed to nature—contrary to natural rights—in opposition to the laws of nature. Now, is it wrong to oppose nature? Let us inquire. Certainly it is not to be denied, that unless justice be a law of nature, the term *natural justice* must be an unphilosophical term.

If any action be wrong—if slavery be wrong, must it not be

so because of the violation of some rule of right distinct from the promptings of nature? Must it not be because of the violation of some *moral* principle? Suppose nature prompts in one direction and morals in another, can they be regarded as in harmony? If not, wherein is the discord?

We affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that injustice, and wrong, and oppression, and cruelty, and all unkindness, uniformly and universally characterize the works of nature in all her departments. If this be so, and what sane man will deny it? can it be regarded as necessarily right to act in harmony with nature, or necessarily wrong vehemently to oppose her? If wrong and oppression characterize the works of nature in all her departments, how can we escape the conclusion that institutions, characterized by wrong and oppression, are right, because in harmony with the disposition of nature. Let nature be the standard of right, and let it be conceded that wrong and cruelty prevail in her departments, then, the conclusion is unavoidable, that institutions founded on wrong and cruelty are right, because in conformity with this assumed test of truth. We must come to better conclusions than this. If it be even right to oppose nature—to act in opposition to natural law—how do we know but that the opposition between slavery and the laws of nature may be the very strongest argument in defense of it?

If nature is not a source of morals, but, on the contrary, is in a state of moral ruin, we should not affirm of any moral law—any principle of right—that it is either natural or unnatural.

There have been in the world's history but one class of persons who have acted in an unnatural manner, and these have been Christ, and the apostles, and patriarchs.

To act unnaturally, is to act contrary to a law of nature. To perform a miracle, is to act contrary to a law of nature.

This being so, then, to say that slaveholders act unnaturally when they hold Africans in servile bonds, is to ascribe miraculous powers to them.

We must bear in mind that *all* power of action or motion, when that motion is the object of the human senses—or, in other words, is physical, comes from, proximately, nature.

If, now, A murders B, the power so to murder comes from nature, and the act is natural, and hence not miraculous—A uses the power of nature. Would there not be an obvious contradiction in saying that nature imparted all the power possessed by A when he murdered B, and at the same time say that A acted in opposition to nature, or that he performed an unnatural act?

If to act unnaturally means to act in opposition to the laws of nature, then, when the Saviour of men raised Lazarus from the dead did he not perform an unnatural act? Surely.

This question forms the very ground of dispute between Hume and the sceptics on the one hand, and all Christian believers on the other. What is Hume's argument?

He maintains that all men who make reason the ground of their beliefs, should rather credit implicitly the consistency of nature than credit a miracle. And why? Because, as he contended, human testimony, proving an act in opposition to the laws of nature, is much less to be relied on than the fixedness and predominancy of natural laws.

Logic is an inexorable thing, and if, now, no human being can violate a law of nature, or postpone its operation, unaided by a divine or supernatural power, then it is an utter confusion of language—an utter departure from philosophical propriety of thought, to accuse slaveholders of acting contrary to natural right, or natural justice, or of opposing any natural law, when they hold Africans in bondage.

There are no such things as *natural right*. These words are self-contradictory and absurd. There are, we admit, rights that appertain to man. There are rules of right conduct regulating the social state, but nature, in all her departments, has nothing to do with them.

There are rights appertaining to every relation in social life, whether private or political. These private and these political rights repose on principles of *moral government*. What has nature to do with moral government? Nothing. And why? Plainly, because *nature is an effect*. What is nature? It is one of the creations of God. *It is matter under laws of motion or development*.

We know of the existence of but two distinct and different creations that have emanated from the Divine hand, and they are the natural and the spiritual, the material and immortal, the visible and the thinking, the unintelligent and the intelligent. Now, natural laws regulate the one, and moral laws are designed to regulate the other. Natural beings are visible and tangible, and are *under law*—fully and completely *governed by it*—hence it is that nature is, as Hume contended, so uniform and consistent. We may hence rely with the utmost confidence in the operations of nature. Hence any successful opposition to nature, or to natural uniformity and consistency, must come from a power greater than the power exhibited in nature. That power is the divine: for God is not only the author of nature, but also the author of the principles of moral propriety that are independent of nature, and exist apart from her operations. Whoever says God and nature are the same, then, they must confound moral and natural government. The reason for their conduct is very plain. If there be no distinction between God and nature, as M. Compté and others think, then God's laws and nature's laws are identical, and hence there can be no

moral principles that are not naturally displayed that may not be ascertained from the study of natural works and operations.

But how are moral laws ascertained, and with what consistency and uniformity are they obeyed? These are pregnant questions, and deserve a careful answer.

We ascertain moral principles from the study of no natural or visible object.

We ascertain moral principles from the study of the social life of intelligent beings, and the means and measure of social happiness.

Any principle regulating the social relation of intelligent, immortal, thinking beings, whose use and observance in the social state adorns and benefits that state, is a rule of morals.

But the knowledge of the majority of the principles of social life and social well-being, we learn from Revelation—a standard aside from nature. With what consistency and uniformity are moral principles obeyed? None whatever.

We all know that men are free agents in respect to rules of moral conduct, and obey them, or *refuse to obey them*, just as they choose. Hence we have good men, and bad men; the good being those who choose to obey moral law, and the bad those who refuse. Hence, there is no uniformity of obedience. How different from nature!

This want of uniformity shows the wide distinction between the objects of moral and those of natural law.*

The objects of *natural laws uniformly and consistently obey* those laws, while men—while intelligent, thinking beings, who are the sole objects of moral, obey sometimes, and sometimes refuse. A natural object never refuses, because it has no freedom of volition. Hence, a free agent is not a *natural* being.

While we affirm that there is no sense in the term *natural right* or *natural justice*, we insist there is such a thing as *natural liberty*. *Natural liberty* includes the freedom of voluntary agents. Hence, it means that men may be either good or bad.

So far as moral government is concerned, men have the *natural freedom* either to obey or disobey it.

Thou shalt not kill, is a rule in morals; thou shalt not steal, is another. Men are, by nature, free to obey or disobey them as they choose. While in this free state by nature, moral government steps in and institutes obligation. Hence, moral obligation. Hence, we are morally obliged and naturally free. We are, first, free agents; and then, when we arrive at years of accountability, and come to apprehend the force and effect of moral principles, we come under obligation of obedience—an obligation that limits and restrains, while it does not destroy, *natural freedom*.

A is free, by nature, to kill B. But God comes to A, with the code of morals, and restrains his freedom, and *morally*

obliges him not to kill. Slaves are free agents, and hence have the natural liberty of killing their masters. But morally they are bound, not to kill, but to respectful obedience and submission.

Some men, who find fault with the institution of domestic bondage, allege, as an argument against it, that we deprive our slaves of their natural liberties.

Of course we do. We could not otherwise morally govern them. There never yet existed a moral rule of government, which did not abridge the natural free agency of man. We do not deny that our slaves have the liberty to kill, and we do not deny that we abridge their freedom of action in that regard, by the principles of government to which we reduce them.

There never yet existed a man who had intelligence or understanding, whose natural freedom, whose natural liberty, God did abridge, who was, by Him, brought under obligation to behave properly in the relations of social life. Consistently with moral government, this abridgment of natural liberty is unavoidable. The very first step taken by any law-giver, whether divine or human, is an infringement of human liberty.

What is moral government based on? Manifestly, on the liberty of the agent about to be brought under its obligation. How can you oblige an agent morally, who has no freedom of choice? How can you tell a man to behave properly in the relations of social life, unless you know he has the power to obey or disobey. If he cannot do otherwise than obey, then your telling him to obey is breath foolishly expended.

If he *can* disobey, then that is his freedom of action.

But why is man's free agency called his natural liberty? It is so called, and properly so called, because he derives his power of action or motion from his natural organization, which is purely the product of nature. Man, as a free being, and his organization are different. All organization comes from nature, for nature has to do with matter, and nothing but matter can be organized. The power that thinks is immaterial. We are, as intelligent and immoral beings, indebted to the physical strength of our material bodies for the liberty of manifestation. Our bodies, our physical outworks, are the products of nature, and nature imparts strength to them in strict obedience of uniform and consistent natural laws. It is to this physical strength that we resort when we wish to act, and we resort to it alike whether we choose to be either good or bad—to do a praiseworthy or a criminal act.

A resorts to his natural strength when he proceeds to kill, and resorts to the same natural endowments when he wishes to do a good act. Hence, for free agency, we are indebted to our nature; and hence our freedom of agency is called our natural liberty. License is its proper name. There is no such thing as

moral freedom or moral liberty. The freedom of man is always and invariably natural, while his *obligation* is always moral.

Moral rule and moral obligation are convertible terms, while freedom and free agency mean the same. Hence, freedom of itself is never moral. It only becomes moral when the divine being restrains it. The law of restraint thus emanating, constitutes the code of morals. There can be no morals in the absence of law, and hence no civil security with unrestrained natural freedom or license. This whole question lies at the basis of the great science of civil government. Civil government reposes on the rights of man, and the rights of man on the restraints of moral government.

Natural freedom comes first, moral government comes secondly, and then, thirdly, comes civil or human rule; and this latter rule is only true or wise in proportion as it happens to accord with the higher code—the higher code being those principles that prevail in the relations of social life; that traces their origin to the *divine* wisdom.

God has regulated (that is to say, has instituted rules of proper deportment for) all the relations of social life, whether we know and act on them or not. There may be rules of conduct for some of the relations of social life that society may not apprehend and act on for a thousand years to come. But they are existing, and have existed from the beginning. What was true of the social state of man in the dawn of social intercourse is true now; and will continue to be the highest wisdom applicable to that state so long as there shall be such a thing as social intercourse on earth. No matter how ignorant man may be of it, no matter how he may live in disregard of it, it will ever be his highest rule of conduct, for, as God's will, it is ever consistent.

While we admit the possibility, nay, the certainty, of a conflict between human and divine rules of social or civil government, we have no hesitancy in deciding as to the duty of the citizen.

Practically, no man should set up his private judgment as a rule for his conduct, in opposition to the civil authority, or any legitimate branch of it. This is the general rule, to which there is an exception in the case of revolutions.

We do not wish to be understood as holding that a citizen must fail to express his repugnance to a rule of the civil authority violative, in his judgment, of the divine authority, but that his opposition must be in harmony with and promotive of the security of civil government. If A conscientiously believes a certain civil rule to be in opposition to the law of God, it is his duty to submit to it, practically, at the same time opposing it theoretically—the latter opposition to be always under the government of Christian principles, that is to say, always conducted under action in harmony with the public peace. Strife

is not to be sought, neither is it to be avoided. The line of demarcation between obedience and resistance, though of difficult practical elucidation, is, nevertheless, one substantially existing. All submission is not right and proper, neither is all resistance. Occasions arise in the history of all civil governments, when resistance to civil authority is obedience to God, and the reason why it arises is, because it is the legitimate tendency of power to pass from the hands of the many into those of the few.*

All governments are instituted primarily to enforce by human authority the observance of those rules of social life to which its relations are subjected by the Creator.

Hence, civil government is based on mere necessity. The necessity grows out of the disposition of man.

Men, as a general rule, are unwilling to obey the principles of moral government that form the rights of man in the social relations of life. Were they willing to yield submission to human rights, or right principles of social living, their ignorance of them would then be the only obstacle in the way of social harmony, and then this necessity would demand civil instruction and civil teachers, and not civil government with its pains and penalties.

But since they are unwilling to be restrained by the true science of social living—which is the divine government—the divine regulation of the relations of social life, then that specific necessity lays the foundation for *human interference*, in order, by practical or temporal pains and penalties, to *force or coerce men* to regard the right.

This force and this coercion, this application of temporal punishment, is the distinguishing feature, showing the distinction between the right and the proper regulation of the social state, and that to which mere human law-givers have, of necessity, to resort. This necessity justifies it, and nothing else.

* Paley has a remark on this subject that we have always thought of great weight, viz: "That the established government is to be obeyed so long as it cannot be resisted or changed without public inconvenience, and no longer." And to the question who shall judge on this subject, he says the proper answer is, "each man for himself."

Resistance to government should be, not for the sake of resistance itself, but for change; so that revolutions, looking to a change of rule, may truly be the embodiment of the love of it—the representation of a true conservatism. Hence, it is possible for a man to be the friend to liberty, and yet call for no community of good, and a lover of order and a revolutionist. As to when resistance should occur, we can be in no doubt, since it is merely a choice of two unavoidable evils. The question always is, which is the less evil: to submit to a government repugnant to your judgment or to resist in order to change? This question each man must decide for himself; and he acts patriotically, let him decide as he may, provided he decides from considerations of pure patriotism and not from selfish views. Hence, a man is not necessarily a tyrant because he sustains an oppressive government, nor necessarily a patriot because he opposes it. Honest men may differ, and may be on both sides of every civil revolution; and so of dishonest men. God reigns and rules, let the earth rejoice. Hence, order arises from disorder, and the most precious rights of man spring from the blood of patriots.

Why has it been so exceedingly difficult to give a proper definition of civil liberty? It never has been done and never will be.

The reason is, because government and liberty are incompatible.

Government means control. And what does control mean? It means the contrary of liberty. Mr. Christian, in his commentaries on Blackstone, unequivocally admits this.

What portion of civil government is of the most practical benefit to society? It is its restraining statutes. What portion of civil rule has the most lasting influence on members of society? Its punishment—its pains and penalties.

Take away the restraining statutes, and the pains and penalties of a temporal character that sanction and enforce them, that appertain to any existing civil government, and what remains would be utterly valueless as rules for social government and its temporal security.

We should never value government for the liberty which it accords, but for the wisdom and justice of the restraining statutes which it enforces; and we should accord praise to any government just precisely in proportion as its restraining statutes are in harmony with these restraining principles of moral government, to which the God of creation has subjected the relations of social life—principles that constitute the sum and substance of the rights of man.

All that any man wants from government is, effectually to prevent ill-disposed men from violating the right—from infringing the proper rules of social life. And it is just in proportion as it succeeds in this, that individual liberty and security are maintained. If this be so, do not individual liberty and security result—not as any gift or endowment of the government, but as the consequence or the effect of *restraining ill-disposed members of the body politic*.

Well-disposed men are not the proper objects of civil government. Ill-disposed men are. Let government succeed in controlling bad men, by coercing a practical observance of proper rules of social life, and then well-disposed men not only wish to have as little to do with human or civil rule as possible, but are fully prepared to attribute the happiness and concord of their social existence to the beneficence of an overruling Providence, and to those principles of social happiness to which he has subjected the several relations of the social state.

Civil government, we are well assured, grows out of its necessity, and reposes on the consent of the governed, and on nothing else. It has no foundation on the divine law, except what is incidentally given.

How absurd, therefore, the old idea of a social contract.

There is a very wide distinction between the consent of the governed, their continuing willingness, and a supposed contract between the rulers and the ruled.

Paley demolished this idea when he declared that it was never a fact—that contracts of government were in fact never made. They never were—never will be. No set of men will ever be silly enough to bind themselves by contract to obey rulers, except on the conditions that the government shall promote, and continue to promote, the public good—that is to say, to promote the contentment and satisfaction of the governed: and that is, to be governed according to their consent. The majority-rule here carries it, as the safest practical rule, to ascertain the contentment of the governed—a rule not invariably right, but the best in ordinary circumstances—best as a general rule.

Whenever a government ceases to be in harmony with the public judgment and public will, it at once *pro tanto* loses its warrant for its continued existence.

It is by this accommodation of governments to the public judgment in such matters that governments progress—move from despotic to liberal. Hence, they should not advance faster than the people improve, nor lag behind human civilization.

What is human civilization? It is merely human apprehension of, and obedience to, the principles of moral science prevailing in the social relations of life. That man is, therefore, civilized, who knows the right in social life and voluntarily obeys it. In proportion as he recedes from this knowledge and this voluntary obedience, does he approximate the savage state. Hence, nothing distinguishes the savage from the civilized state but the knowledge of, and the voluntary submission to, those permanent regulations of social life—regulations originating in the divine wisdom—regulations to which the entire fabric of social life is subjected. Hence, men may go back to the state of nature, or recede from it, and their governments will be, and should be, fair indices of their relative social condition, morally and intellectually. Hence, it would be just as foolish to bestow a liberal government on a savage race as a despotic one on a civilized people. If governments refuse, on the consent of the governed, that consent will be either wise or foolish, either for liberal or despotic rule, just precisely in proportion as the people yielding the consent are enlightened or otherwise. Hence, for one people, a despotism is the part of wisdom, and for another, a more liberal government.

What is a liberal government? It is one wherein there is but little governmental ruling. A despotic government is one wherein there is large power in the hands of the rulers, and much ruling. Hence, governments rule much or rule little, in the relations of social life, in proportion as the people know and voluntarily discharge those duties that tend to promote the public peace and prosperity. Hence, a people universally so disposed, would have need of no human rule at all. The science of social life, fully understood and fully obeyed, would answer all the ends sought to be effected by civil authority.

From this train of reasoning we arrive at the conclusion that civil government reposes on its necessity, and this necessity grows out of the evil dispositions of wicked and abandoned men and women.

Ignorance and vice are the father and mother of civil authority.

To say, therefore, that civil authority reposes for its foundation on the law of God, is a simple absurdity. Its true basis is the consent of the governed, and we are required by the divine law to submit to it, because it is necessary—because it is the less choice of two unavoidable evils—and not because of any conformity to the laws of God.

If the law of God, and not the consent of the governed, were the true foundation of civil rule, then no honest or conscientious man could obey a rule that, in his judgment, infringed the law of God. To adopt such an understanding as this would exalt private judgment to an authority in the state greater than that of the state itself. And this would be to abrogate and destroy all civil security and authority. Hence, no matter what may be the divine law, and what may be our conscientious convictions of it, our path of duty is plain, pending the existence of a conflict in our judgment between a divine rule and a rule established by the legitimate existing authority. We must submit to the latter for conscience sake.

Still, as moral government is ever harmonious, and human rule ever changing, by the exercise of the Christian duties, we may come in time to be relieved of the unhappy alternative. All good men bide their time in patience and brotherly kindness—in toleration and Christian affection.

ART. X.—ABOLITIONISM A CURSE TO THE NORTH AND A BLESSING TO THE SOUTH.

A kind Providence has overruled the evil designs of the Yankees, and has converted abolitionism into a blessing to the South and a curse to the North.

In Mr. Calhoun's celebrated letter to Mr. King, the foundation of abolitionism is traced with a master-hand to that British policy, which is looking to a monopoly of the rich products of tropical agriculture. Mr. Calhoun perceived that the abolition of associated labor in the Southern states, called negro slavery, was greatly desired by the British government; not from any motives of humanity, as alleged, but as a means of monopolizing the rich products of tropical industry—it being well known to that government that free negroes will not engage in field labor, and that the abolition of our Southern

system of labor would leave that colossal power without a competitor in tropical agriculture. The antislavery sentiment in England was very clearly demonstrated by Mr. Calhoun to be rooted in interest, and not in philanthropy or in religion.

Sugar, the sweet tooth in the head, not philanthropy or love for the negro, caused the abolition of negro slavery in the British West India islands. The whole population of those islands scarcely exceeded a single million. The libraries of the commercial and manufacturing cities of Great Britain abound with books, tracts and pamphlets (which have never had any circulation in foreign countries), written with the express view of demonstrating to the British public that the interests of all classes of society would be greatly promoted by paying the West India planters for their slaves and setting them free, as such a measure would place the one hundred and fifty millions of free laborers of the East Indies on an equal footing, in the production of sugar, with the one million in the West Indies. It was argued, that the slave laborers of the West Indies prevented the one hundred and fifty millions of free laborers in the East Indies from engaging in the sugar-making business, precisely as the slave laborers of Hayti prevented the free laborers of Bengal from engaging in the cultivation of the indigo plant until negro slavery in Hayti was overthrown; when the so-called free laborers of India immediately set about and produced three-fourths of all the indigo of the world; whereas, prior to the overthrow of negro slavery in Hayti, three-fourths of all the indigo in the markets of the world was produced in that island, and little or none in India. So, also, the downfall of slave labor in Jamaica, in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, has already been followed by a very extensive cultivation of that plant by cooly labor in Mauritius, and the British possessions in India, and other tropical colonies. Indeed, at the present day, England would monopolize the sugar market, if it were not for the slave-labor sugar of Cuba and Louisiana. The antislavery sentiment of the British public is radicated, as Mr. Calhoun perceived, not in philanthropy, religion, or any love for the African race, but in those great industrial interests from which British power and wealth draw their nutriment. Hence, that sentiment is universal throughout the British empire. Many of the sugar planters, who were ruined by the West India emancipation Act, are rapidly recovering their fortunes by sugar planting in India.

The parent antislavery societies of London, particularly that of Exeter Hall, were not instituted to influence the industrial, the manufacturing, the commercial, or the governing classes of Great Britain by motives of religion and philanthropy; because none of these classes have ever been influenced by such motives to act in opposition to their wordly interest, but they were instituted to mislead foreign governments, particularly the

puritanical, self-righteous portion of the American people, who, in religion and morals, generally make the bigoted Puritans they left behind in England their standard. The privileged clergy of Great Britain are as much a part of the government as the army or navy. They preached sentimental abolitionism to promote British policy. The bigots and Puritans among the dissenters, not wishing to be behind the privileged clergy in anything partaking of the character of philanthropy, Christianity, and the rights of man, preached sentimental abolitionism more earnestly and vociferously than the lord bishops, with salaries of from twenty to fifty thousand dollars per annum. The working clergy, hired by the privileged clergy to do their work, at salaries barely sufficient to purchase bread and clothing, also joined in thundering from the pulpit, that "*negro slavery is sin against God and the sum of all villainies.*" They had to do it or lose their places, called livings. It was this sentimental abolitionism that was exported and planted in Massachusetts and other Northern states. The exotic was of slow growth, though fed and watered by numerous local anti-slavery societies and foreign emissaries in sheep's clothing, until the dishonest, ignorant, selfish, political demagogues of the Northern states laid hold of it, and tied it as a broad phylactery on their foreheads to climb into power and place over the ruins of the Federal constitution. Churches were first split by it, then political parties, then open violations of the constitution, and, finally, the Southern states were compelled to seek protection against the intolerable despotism of fanatics, blind bigots and unprincipled demagogues, in secession. The total, complete and eternal separation from the Northern states, was effected by the establishment of a new government, and the creation of an independent power among the nations of the earth, under the title of the Confederate States of America. Thus was abolitionism converted into a blessing to the South.

When slavery was abolished in the West Indies under the pretence that enlarged notions of human liberty, progress in morals and Christianity (so far in advance of the age of Moses, the prophets and apostles, as to enable the present generation to see what they did not, that slavery is sin against God), had moved the Imperial Parliament to set the West India negroes free, it was generally supposed that the model republic would follow the example and liberate the slaves of the Southern states. Agents were immediately dispatched to India with American cotton seed, gins, and implements of husbandry, to introduce the culture of cotton on an extensive scale, by free labor in the East, to supply the deficiency which the abolition of slavery in our Southern states might occasion, or even to supersede America entirely in the culture of that king staple of tropical agriculture.

After a most protracted and violent agitation, slavery was

not abolished; nor did the experiments, made under the most favorable circumstances, for twenty years in succession, in every nook and corner of India, and the British possessions in Asia, Africa and Australia, give any grounds of reasonable hope that the empire of King Cotton could ever be transferred from the Southern states of America to any other country or region of the earth. The experiments to transfer the monopoly of the tobacco culture from Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri to other lands, have also failed. British abolitionism has filled its mission. It has not done all it was intended to do or was expected from it, but it has done wonders for the agricultural, commercial, industrial, manufacturing and governing classes of Great Britain, whose interests it was seeking. It has completely succeeded in transferring the valuable indigo culture from Hayti to British India; it has left Great Britain with no competitors in the sugar market but Louisiana and Cuba. Abolitionism has cursed the Yankees, by depriving them of their fishing bounties and their monopoly of the coasting trade, and has struck a death-blow at Yankee supremacy and rivalry on the ocean. Happily for Great Britain, it has forever crushed the dreaded competition of Yankee traders and manufacturers. But, great as has been the benefits it has conferred on all classes in Great Britain, they are exceeded by the benefits it has conferred on all classes in the Confederate States of America. It has built a permanent wall between the fanatics, knaves, poltroons, selfish, dishonest demagogues of the Northern states and the people of the Southern Confederacy. Nothing but abolitionism could ever have effected the commercial enfranchisement of the Southern states, or prevented them from continuing under the horrid despotism of the Northern majority, bent on plundering them by the devices of tariffs, monopolies, banks, bounties, and systems of internal improvements, looking to the aggrandizement of the North at the expense of the South.

Fortunately, however, for the independence of the Southern states, agents were sent over by Exeter Hall and the antislavery societies of London to propagate abolitionism in America. In the South they were simply regarded as deluded fanatics, unworthy of notice, or as enemies deprived of the power of doing much mischief from the unpopularity of the fundamental doctrine they preached—political, civil and social equality with negroes. Hence, very little was done by the Southern people or the Southern press to counteract such a doctrine as that, so abhorrent to the instincts of the white race, who were living in juxtaposition with the black. The instincts and every-day experience of all classes in Southern society were sufficient guaranties that the doctrine of negro equality could never take root in the South, no matter how industriously propagated; and that there was no absolute necessity for a word to be spoken or

written against it. So universal was this feeling, that it was even thought not worth while to require abolitionism to be expunged from the school books and newspapers, pamphlets, magazines and works of literature, to insure Southern patronage. This, however, proved to be an error in such districts as Western Virginia, East Tennessee and other localities, where the black population are so few in numbers that the whites have not an opportunity of learning, by daily experience, the fallacy of the antislavery dogmas. While the South treated such dogmas with contempt, societies were formed in the puritanical North to propagate them by antislavery presses and antislavery pulpits, and in every manner of way. Yet, for more than a quarter of a century, the Union sentiment in the South was too strong for the Northern invectives, daily hurled at her institutions, or to see how the South was cheated by its misalliance with the North. Even after the Southern churches split from the Northern, refusing to have an antislavery God and an antislavery Bible forced upon them, the Southern political parties continued to work harmoniously with the Northern, until the Northern demagogues seized upon the antislavery sentiment to elect an antislavery president by a numerical Northern majority—not for the sake of the negro or for the sake of the Exeter Hall dogmas, but to enable them, through a numerical Northern majority, to subjugate and plunder the South more effectually than they had heretofore done. It was not until abolitionism had driven that president to call for an army of seventy-five thousand men that the whole South became united, and with great unanimity determined forever to withdraw from the misalliance with the North. The people of the Southern states had no alternative but to give up their individual rights and submit to a sword government, or to look to a Southern confederacy and a new government to preserve their republican institutions and their individual rights. They have much cause to be thankful to Exeter Hall for the seed of abolitionism it sowed in the North. It was the ripening of those seed into *wide awakeism* which has severed the misalliance with the North and effected the political and commercial enfranchisement of the South.

It was the light emitted by the torches of the triumphant army of wide awakes which enabled all parties in the South to see clearly that their only hope of salvation was the rock of independence, on which their forefathers stood nearly a century ago in the contest with great Britain. To that rock they hastened. The movement was called *secession*. The Northern democracy, instead of permitting the Southern states to exercise their sovereign right of secession and to depart in peace, as democratic principles and the doctrine of state rights required them to do, turned traitors to their own principles, and joined the bigots and fanatics in a fierce aggressive war against the

states of the South for exercising the highest and the most essential right of sovereignty. They joined the larger army of the wide awakes, with a full knowledge that the demagogues in command of it were seeking the subjugation of the whites of the South, and the extermination of the blacks, at the very time they were hypocritically crying louder than the radical abolitionists themselves for the largest liberty to both races. Their new allies, by their aid, have not succeeded in wiping out negro slavery from the South, but have by their own help pretty well succeeded in wiping out political liberty and free government from the North. Having dug their own graves, now, while they are being covered with the ruins of their own political liberty, their manufacturing and commercial interests, if there be any people in the world who have cause to curse abolitionism and to despise Exeter Hall and British manufacturers for sending it among them, it is the Yankees.

The South has, or ought to have, no quarrel with British abolitionism. She owes her independence to it. It was the moving spring of the present war. But the war will be worth to the South ten times its cost, as it will demonstrate the strength, stability and permanency of a government founded on natural instead of artificial distinctions in society. What government in Europe could be less hurt than ours has been by an army of six hundred thousand men? Southern property will rise after the war is over to more than double what it was before the war began. Southern property was estimated at not more than half the value of Northern, owing to the supposed insecurity of our institutions in the South. If the present war cost the Confederate States five thousand millions, it would be more than ten times repaid in the enhanced value of Confederate States property. Great as its pecuniary benefits may be, its moral, intellectual and political will be greater. It will, moreover, set the minds of the many millions in Europe, engaged in the manufacture of Confederate States products, at rest in regard to the Southern supplies of the raw materials, as it will demonstrate that there is no danger of these supplies failing them.

Although it is very natural that England and France should desire to make their tropical possessions more valuable, by encouraging the cultivation of tropical products, yet the principal motive which has led the manufacturing and industrial classes into abolitionism, is the erroneous belief in the insecurity of the tenure of African slave labor in the Southern states of America. They feared that at any moment a stray spark of thought, hope or liberty, falling among a comparatively few negro slaves in America, would throw many millions of Europeans out of employment, break up the manufactories of cotton goods, and bring ruin, distress and disorder upon society, from the supply being cut off. Hence, they have co-operated most strenuously with their governments in stimulat-

ing and encouraging in their colonies the cultivation of tropical products, particularly cotton and tobacco, and also sugar, rice and indigo, by what is called cooly or free labor. We of the South have done little or nothing to make known to the world the great truth, that the tenure of African slave labor is as permanent and as durable as the everlasting hills. This war will demonstrate that truth to Europe, and cut up the cause of European abolitionism by the roots. In Great Britain and France, abolitionism is founded on certain real or supposed interests of the people advocating it. In the New England states, abolitionism is not founded on any real or supposed interest of the people advocating it, but on the fanaticism of the most intensely fanatical, self-conceited, self-righteous race of mankind—the Yankees. So self-righteous, vain and self-conceited as to be beguiled by the politicians of Exeter Hall (aiming to destroy their manufactures) into the fanatical idea that Moses and the prophets, the blessed Saviour and the apostles, were far behind the progressive, puritanical Yankees, in their perceptions of moral right and duty, as not to have seen and condemned a certain form of government, called slavery in English and Yankee dictionaries, as sin against God, and the sum of all villainies. So fanatical were they, that they did not even stop to inquire whether the government the negroes were under in the Southern states was the kind of government defined in the dictionaries as slavery—a government of force, or, an entirely different thing, a government of love, such as women and children are under everywhere. It was enough for the puritanical fanatics that it was called slavery. It was enough for the dishonest politicians and selfish demagogues (not only in New England, but in all the Northern states) to find slavery a capital hobby-horse, bridled and saddled at their doors, for them to ride into political power and place.

It was in vain to argue against either form of Northern abolitionism—the fanatical or the political. Consequently, the Southern people scarcely thought it worth while to persuade selfish demagogues to dismount from the hobby-horse, which gave them popularity and power, or to attempt to persuade the self-righteous fanatics that they were not more advanced in justice and righteousness than Christ and the apostles. But abolitionism stands on an entirely different foundation in Europe from what it does in New England and the Northern states. There it can be reached by reason. The manufacturers and dealers in our Southern products are not bigots and fanatics, or selfish demagogues climbing to political power. It is no romantic or sentimental love for negroes that actuates them, but love for themselves and the means by which they make their daily bread. They oppose negro slavery, not on account of any supposed sufferings and hardships of the negro laborers, over and above the sufferings and hardships of European labor-

ers. The most of them are sensible men, and look at facts. Facts declare that the black laborers in the Southern states, though called slave laborers, are happier and better provided with the essential comforts of life than the larger portion of free white laborers in Europe. They do not oppose the institution of negro slavery in America on abstract political or religious grounds (or at least the intelligent portion of them do not), because they are apprised of the fact, that the four millions of the so-called slaves in the Southern states, are further advanced in civilization and Christianity than any four millions of the African race that ever inhabited any other portion of the earth. But, they simply oppose it because of its supposed insecurity, and their fears that their supplies of cotton, and other products of negro slave labor may, at any moment, fail them, if they depend on so insecure a source of supply—hence their anxiety to become independent of slave labor products. But, as slave labor competition, in the article of cotton, tobacco, sugar and rice, is supposed to stand in the way of the cultivation of these articles by cooly and white labor, on a scale sufficiently extensive to supply the markets of the world, they imagine that their interests require its abolition. If once convinced, however, of the security and permanency of the institutions of the Confederate States (and this war will convince them of that fact), they will drop their idle fears of a deficiency in the supply of cotton and tobacco, at least, ever failing them. When convinced of that truth, there will scarcely be an abolitionist among them. No manufacturer, operative, or dealer in cotton goods, would be so inhumane as to entice white men, and drive coolies to face disease, and almost certain destruction, in the cultivation of cotton, which is a healthful and agreeable exercise to negro laborers, if convinced that there was no necessity for such inhumanity. No manufacturer, if sure of always having an abundant supply of superior American cotton, at a fair price, would be willing to put himself to inconvenience, and to diminish his profits by working short time, and submitting to the present blockade, to encourage the culture of an inferior article in India and elsewhere by free labor, which cannot afford to make it as cheap as the superior article is made in the Confederate States by negro labor.

In the Confederate States, ten cents per pound for a good article of cotton is a remunerative price: the cost of production being about half that sum. In India and elsewhere, nothing can be made by the culture; while the American article can be purchased at a price not much exceeding ten cents. It is only when some temporary or artificial cause has run up the price to some twenty or thirty cents, that any profit can be derived from its culture by white or cooly labor.

The present blockade, by preventing the American crops from reaching the market, has enhanced the price much beyond its

intrinsic value. The high price tends greatly to encourage the culture in India and other countries much less congenial to the cotton plant than the Confederate States, and by laborers who perish, instead of thrive as the Southern negroes do, in the chilling dews and the suffocating heat of the cotton fields. Our Northern enemies are seriously proposing to grow cotton in southern Illinois and Indiana to supply the yankee looms. It is not improbable that the article there grown, would be inferior to that of British India. But it is manifest that the culture would be unprofitable, unless the present high prices can be sustained. The blockade has given an artificial value to the article beyond the limits of the Confederate States. It will come down to its true value and prove unprofitable to all those engaged in its culture elsewhere, as soon as the blockade is raised, unless we work against ourselves and sustain the foreign cultivators of our great staple by planting less or only half crops. What the manufacturers mostly want is a sufficient supply of good cotton at a fair price. While we make enough to supply the market of the world, the Empire of King Cotton never can be removed from the Confederate States. We can regulate the culture, so as to make it sufficiently remunerative, by avoiding an excess beyond the demands of the market on the one hand, or a deficiency on the other so great as to render its cultivation profitable in other countries. Our interests rightly understood and the interests of the foreign manufacturers are identical. They want a sufficient supply of good cotton at a fair price, to feed their looms. We can give it to them. The Confederate States is the only country in the world that can do it. We could not make cotton at any price, if our present system of negro labor was abolished. So far, therefore, from the manufacturers having any interest in the abolition of negro slavery in the Confederate States, they have a direct interest in maintaining it. Foreigners do not understand our system of labor, from not understanding the ethnology of the negro. They think, if it be true that the negro is inferior to the white man, and incapable of being elevated to a level with the European, that the European had better supply his place, and let him disappear as the Indian has. Whereas, the truth is, that in the cotton field the negro laborer is as much superior to the white man as the white man is superior to the negro in the cabinet.

It is the interest of the manufacturers to keep these superior negro slave laborers in the cotton field. If set free, exterminated, or driven back to their native Africa, or the cotton region Africanized, the inhabitants of the civilized world would lose the cheap material wherewith they are clothed. All nations are interested in retaining the sable sons of Africa in a position where they are the undoubted superiors of any other race of mankind—where their labor produces rich fruits, that all partake of, and while, at the same time, the laborers them-

selves, though called slaves, labor with the same apparent diligence, good will and cheerfulness as the slave laborers, called neuters, that nature has supplied the bee-hive with. The former seem to be as happy in the tedious labor of gathering the down of the expanded pods of the cotton plant, as the latter in gathering honey from the opening flowers. We know not the reason why, in the economy of nature, the labor of making honey is imposed on one kind of bees, to all appearances the slaves of the rest, yet we admit the facts and act in conformity thereto. Facts speak no less plainly that the labor of making cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco has been imposed on a particular kind of the human family, apparently slaves of the rest; but not slaves, in the proper sense of the term, any more than the bees are, because nature has adapted them to find pleasure in the particular species of labor she has imposed upon them, which is most irksome to those she has not qualified to perform it. The very kind of labor that negroes most delight in and is the most healthful to them, as that of making cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco, is most irksome and unhealthful to all other races of men. We fight against nature's laws in seeking to impose tropical field labor on the white and olive races, and to release the black race from it, and we, moreover, violate true liberty in so doing. The spirit of liberty demands a place for every thing and every thing in its place, and that the various individuals composing society should contribute to its welfare in a manner most suitable and congenial to their natures. Commercial enfranchisement is based on the same principle of letting nature, instead of art, dictate the laws of trade between friendly nations.

ART. XI.—COMMERCIAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

A powerful article under the above caption, understood to have been written by that accurate statistician and successful merchant, J. S. Loudon, Esq., of Richmond, appeared in the October and November number of De Bow's Review. It had been previously submitted to the Commercial Convention of Macon, last autumn, as a memorial from a citizen of Virginia, and, by a resolution of that body, was recommended to the attention of the several states and important cities of the Confederacy. It was printed with the proceedings of the Convention. Its suggestions of the expediency of adopting a modification of the French system of weights and measures; the establishment of an exchequer; the adjustment of corporation taxes, so as to release trades and professions of burdensome

restrictions; and especially the imposition upon all vessels from Abolitiondom of a rigid and expensive police corps, from their entrances to their departure from Southern waters, seem to be eminently worthy of adoption as soon as the present war terminates. If, in addition to the police corps on board of vessels, Jersey wagons and land carriages and pack-horses were included, a wall of adamant would not be more effectual in bringing about that desirable result—the putting a final stop to commercial relations between the North and the South. The establishment of a new and more perfect and convenient system of weights and measures, though attended with some inconveniences at first, is of more importance to our commercial independence than the most of persons, who have not considered the subject, might suppose. But the recommendation of withholding the cotton and tobacco of the Confederate States from the European market, during the continuance of the war with the Yankees, is thought to be impolitic; as, also, the recommendations made in other quarters, and by various writers and politicians, of planting only half crops or no crops at all, of these valuable Southern staples. Many able politicians, besides the able author of the article in *De Bow's Review*, firmly believe with him that “such a measure,” the nonexportation of cotton and tobacco from the Confederate States, “persevered in for a short time, would carry famine and want to the homes and firesides of millions of human beings in all the manufacturing and commercial nations of the world—and would beget for us friends where they are the most needed, viz., among the commercial and manufacturing nations of Europe, who would be compelled to open our ports for us, and to diminish the existing duties on tobacco.” Perhaps they would, if Dixie embraced within her limits all the soil on which cotton and tobacco will grow. But in proof that cotton and tobacco will grow elsewhere, it is only necessary to call to mind the fact, that from a third to a fourth of these articles consumed by Great Britain are grown in her own tropical possessions.

ART. XII.—THE RIGHT OF SECESSION AND COERCION.

The right of withdrawing from an existing government and setting up a separate one, when any large portion of its people may think that it is exercised to their injury and oppression, at first view must seem too revolutionary in itself, and calculated to too much weaken any government to be tolerated. Let this be admitted to be true as a general proposition. On the other hand, it is equally true that governments, like individuals, may

make laws for themselves, and may prescribe the terms on which they will consent to be united; and this law will be their guide, and the substantial infraction of it will justify either for withdrawing, or they may make their continuance together dependent on their will. There is a marked difference always to be kept in view between the American government and all others. All other governments, whether separated by shires, counties, or districts, never as such having any separate rights of government, are only parts of one whole, and are bound together by their majorities to the government so constituted, and resistance to it must be regarded as revolutionary. The American government is not composed of shires or counties, but of independent sovereignties, possessing all the rights of self-government, and the authority to enter into any compacts, treaties, leagues, or covenants, and to prescribe the terms on which they do so. They have all the privileges incident to sovereignty, of either England, France, or any other government, and may limit the continuance of their remaining united either to a specified time, or make it dependent on their will. They have done this latter, and the terms have been accepted, and on such compact the present agreement is based. It is their law, and must be their guide, however unwise it may be regarded as applicable to the condition of other nations.

The possible abuse of this great privilege being left with the states, was foreseen by the wise framers of the Federal constitution; and various and persevering efforts were made to avoid it, by giving to the congress the control over the decisions of the states, and all refused. Four different clauses were proposed having this object, and all refused: the states were so jealous of their sovereignty. They intended to give nothing that was not so clearly expressed; and nowhere in the constitution is authority to decide to be found, where any state in its sovereignty shall decide one way and congress another. No umpire to decide was given, and if it had been insisted on, there would have been no Union, and the states would have remained separate sovereignties. There is yet stronger authority for the right of secession being dependent on the will of the states. The formation of the constitution was dependent on the adoption of the states, and they, of course, had the right to annex such qualifications or conditions on doing so as thought proper, and if accepted, was binding on the Union. Several states accepted without, but some did annex conditions, and Virginia did that of the privilege of resuming when the powers granted to the Union should be perverted to her *injury* or *oppression*, and that every power not granted remains with her to be exercised at her *will*. The terms of acceptance in her ratification act are as follow:

"We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected, in pursuance of a recommendation from the general assembly, and now met in conven-

tion, and having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us to decide thereon, *do*, in the name and on behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the constitution being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury and oppression, and that every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their *will*."

At whose will does the privilege of judging when their rights are perverted and resuming depend? Surely, not on that of the congress of the United States, seeing that the clause was inserted as a guard against their assumption of power. It can only mean the will of the state. From the authorities above referred to—from the reason and necessity of the case, and the known views of the great states'—right party of that day—there is but one correct conclusion to be come to, and that is, that the states have the right, acting in their sovereign capacity, to withdraw from the Union, and create a new government they may think more suitable to their interests. They have, in their sovereign capacity, through conventions, formed a new government, and sent commissioners to say that they had done so, and were willing to pay for any property they had taken, and to arrange all matters between the two governments in such manner as was equitable, just, and proper. These commissioners have not been recognized, but have been contemptuously refused an audience. They deny the right of secession, and claim the right of coercing ten millions of people, and without authority, and are levying war for its enforcement. The constitutions of the states are the limitations of power which the people of each state, in their sovereign capacity, have prescribed as barriers to legislation. The constitution of the Federal government is a grant of power, and the authority for its exercise; and if not to be found in it it does not exist, and the right of coercion is not there.

ART. XIII.—CAUSE AND CONTRAST—THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

[We are permitted to extract a chapter from the volume which Messrs. West & Johnston have recently issued from the press with the above title. It is from the sprightly and vigorous pen of T. W. McMahon, of Richmond, Va., who has shown himself profoundly versed in all the relations of the great controversy of arms now raging between the United and Confederate States. The volume should be in the hands of every good citizen among us, as furnishing a reason for his faith and an incentive to the most heroic efforts in behalf of the great cause which involves everything that is dear to the hearts of freemen.]

A government which does not rest upon the consent of the governed, is necessarily an odious and bad government—bad,

because even the benefits it may confer are the fruits of usurpation. If the axiom be true, that the power of governing is but the commission of God to the ruler, the trust is sufficiently onerous and responsible, even when willingly acquiesced in by the governed. But for him that usurps power to rule over a people who despise him, there can be no other name than TYRANT. To govern a people against their will is a crime against humanity, an insult to reason, and an outrage upon liberty. Such a ruler must, of necessity, be a conqueror. His jurisdiction is maintained by the remorseless ravage of states—by covering his path with death, terror and desolation—by rendering himself hateful to the virtuous, sacrificing the heroic, and enslaving the free. The bravest of his friends and foes fall together, the victims of his pride, tyranny and usurpation. Having become himself the first violator of public law, his followers will emulate his evil example, until general crime takes the place of regular order, and the fiercer passions of hatred and revenge substitute humanity and sociology. By his influence, commerce and agriculture are ruined—the plastic and mechanic arts sink into decrepitude—science, literature and religion are neglected or forgotten—demoralization becomes contagious—good men are forced, or deluded, into a copartnership of action with the despicable—villainy and profligacy are licensed to invade the sanctuaries of virtue and purity—and while innocence and industry are stripped of armor and shield, indecency and crime stalk abroad gigantic, unchecked and unpunished: for these are inevitable consequences of war.

And even when war is justly waged; when it is fortified by principles of humanity and right; when the patriot's sword is unsheathed to defend his country's liberties; its evils are only extenuated, but not obliterated. It brings jealousy and rivalry into the camp of friends; it covers the earth with carnage; it strips the parent of the child; it divorces the husband from his wife; it sets villages and cities in flames; it converts happy homes into temples of misery and mourning; it makes of smiling Ceres a woful suppliant; and the proudest victory is achieved upon the ruins of a flourishing glory. The martyr's crown, and the praise of history, may reward the patriot who falls in defence of his freedom; but when the sword is drawn to oppress, he who wields it is a murderer and a robber.

But since the world began—since war first cursed earth and degraded man—it would be difficult to discover, in the pages of universal history, the record of so unholy and iniquitous a civil strife as that into which Abraham Lincoln has plunged the American states. The war which he wages is a bastard begotten of power and arrogance. He, his advisers, and the section of the old republic to which he belongs, had, during the quarter of a century previous to his inauguration, heaped abuse, and outrage, and wrong, upon the people they are now endeavoring

to crush, subjugate and exterminate. They represented that the South hung, like a mill-stone, round the neck of the Union, retarding her progress and blighting her prosperity. They inculcated in all of their moral teachings and political proclamations—some directly and others indirectly—that she would be “let slide,” or that slavery should be abolished, ere the North could take her proper place among the nations. And, resolved at length to preserve her institutions, protect her property, and bear the responsibility of her own sins and disadvantages, the South separated herself from what seemed to be a dissatisfied partner; but implored a continuance of peace and friendship in parting. Here the North changed front. She declared that the South should not depart; that she should still remain in the Union, but as an inferior, without the protection guaranteed by the constitution, and stripped of her four thousand millions of dollars worth of slave property.

This is not the language of exaggeration; it is the doctrine promulgated by the Northern press, enunciated by Northern leaders, and practised and carried out by Northern generals, ever since the godless invasion of the Northern hordes begun. Charles Sumner, in a speech recently delivered by him before the Republican convention of the State of Massachusetts, declared that slavery should be abolished, and the South conquered. Wendell Phillips, the Belial of this great infernal plot, whose

“ ——— tongue
Dropp’d manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason,”

in language more classical and forcible than that of his rhetorical colleague in crime, maintained that such was the object of this relentless war. General Jim Lane said there would be an army of *one color* marching into slave states, and an army of *another color* marching out. Rev. Dr. Bellows, in consecrating the arms of Northern regiments, invoked God to speed the abolition cause. Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge declared that this rebellion shall be put down, it matters not at what expenditure of money, or what sacrifice of the blood of rebels, or their wives and children! The Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, the Rev. Mr. Goodell, John Jay, Oliver Johnson, and other shining lights of the North, lay and clerical, have gone still farther than Phillips or Sumner. At a public meeting held a few weeks since in the City of New York, convened for the purpose of devising a plan whereby the present fratricidal conflict should be made “short and decisive,” it was resolved that “the speedy and complete liberation of the slaves on the soil,” had become a necessity; that to effect this, “the free colored people of the United States should be encouraged to enlist in the great enterprise;” and that, as Leo X had said, not only the Christian religion, but nature, cried out against slavery. “The utmost good nature

pervaded the meeting, and the feeling in favor of the *immediate abolition of slavery*, as a necessity of the war power, was unanimous," according to the New York Times. This same journal afterward inculcated, that there could be no peace—no end of war—no compromise—while slavery existed. The Chicago Tribune—understood to be the leading organ of Mr. Lincoln in Illinois—re-echoed the language of the Times, branded the Southern institution as the sum of all villainies, and laid down the axiom, that "whenever a slave is claimed as the property of another, the claimant is a traitor and a rebel." "In the course of events," says the Boston Transcript, "the hour has arrived for settling the question, whether the inherent despotism of the slave power, or a republic true to freedom, shall rule from the lakes to the gulf, from ocean to ocean." "We hold that slavery is the cause of the war," responds the Delaware (N. Y.) Express, "and that it is the duty of those in whom lie the power, to rid the country of this cause." "The North is in arms against slavery," exclaims the Rockland (Me.) Gazette; "it is fighting against the slavery interest and nothing else." "There cannot and never will be peace again in what formed the United States, so long as slavery exists in the South," is an apothegm from the Harrisburg (Pa.) Telegraph. The New York World will accept from the South not even "abdication." "When there is danger," it adds, "that it shall come to that, let slaveholders beware. The day it is settled that either slavery or the government must perish, that day slavery will be doomed." And again: "If the North cannot conquer rebellion without emancipation, it will conquer it with emancipation." "Close the column, and let the battle rage with Napoleonic fury; while the earth shall open to receive, heaven will expand to accommodate the spirits of those that shall fall"—shouts the Cincinnati Times, borrowing its theology from Mohammed.

In harmony with this settled purpose—with such devilish and fanatical teachings—and with the long-nurtured resolution of their section, the Northern army and its officers, immediately upon their invasion of Southern soil, commenced a remorseless pillage of slave property. This policy was a part of the war strategy of General Rosencranz in Western Virginia—a policy whereby it was hoped to make wavering minds loyal to the "Union." It was practised by Gen. B. F. Butler, while he commanded at Fortress Monroe, upon a splendid scale; his hired myrmidons having robbed farmers, whose only crime was devotion to freedom, of over one thousand negroes—which the invaders naively denominated "contrabands." And this exploit of degraded rapine, on the part of an inglorious and pusillanimous commander, was sanctioned by President Lincoln's Secretary of War, Simon Cameron. But it was reserved for General Fremont to cross the Rubicon of barbarism—to endeavor to have re-enacted, in the South, that ineffably horrible

spectacle which 'deseccated the soil of Hayti. Appointed major-general to command the Federal army in, and subjugate the State of Missouri, one of his first official acts was to issue an edict of emancipation to the blacks! Regarding this step as politically imprudent and premature, until his heel could be more firmly planted upon the necks of Maryland and Kentucky, Mr. Lincoln requested his subordinate to "modify" the proclamation. But Fremont knew his master's heart. He disregarded the request, had a new supply printed after its receipt, and circulated his own decree broad-cast over Missouri.

There is an identity in the acts of tyrants, which cannot fail of making sad impressions upon the mind of a historian. Twice, within a period of less than a single century, have two different and implacable foes sought the bloody spoliation of the South, by means of servile insurrections. On the 7th day of November, 1775, Lord Dunmore issued, in Virginia, a proclamation similar in spirit and intent to that addressed by General Fremont, in 1861, to the people of Missouri. "You may observe," writes the former three days afterward to General Howe, "that I offer freedom to the blacks of all white rebels that join me, in consequence of which there are two or three hundred already come in, and those I form into corps as fast as they come in, giving them white officers and noncommissioned in proportion. And from this plan I make no doubt of getting men enough to *reduce this colony to a proper sense of their duty.*" A Virginia convention indignantly responded to the proclamation; but the final reply was given by George Washington, at the cannon's mouth, before Yorktown, to Lord Cornwallis, in 1781. And how well Missouri has emulated these noble examples, in answering the ordinance of Fremont, let the battles which she fought, and the victories which she won, at Springfield and Lexington, relate: for there is a coincidence of virtue in the deeds of patriots, as there is of baseness in the actions of tyrants.

But it is melancholy, because it is far from being hopeful to the cause of human freedom, to reflect that from the great experiment of American liberty could spring a government, characterized by a despotic frenzy which overshadows that of the administration of Lord North: and that, more than a century ago, the relations of master and servant should have been better understood by an Irishman than they are now by our adversaries. "The high aristocratic spirit of Virginia and the Southern colonies, it has been proposed, I know," said Edmund Burke, "to reduce, by declaring a general enfranchisement of their slaves. This project has had its advocates and panegyrists; yet I never could argue myself into any opinion of it. Slaves are often much attached to their masters. A general wild offer of liberty would not always be accepted. History furnishes few instances of it. It is sometimes as hard to per-

suade slaves to be free, as it is to compel freemen to be slaves. * * * But when we talk of enfranchisement, do we not perceive that the American master may enfranchise too, and arm servile hands in defence of freedom? * * * Slaves, as these black people are, and dull as all people are from slavery, must they not a little suspect the offer of freedom from *that very nation which has sold them to their present masters?*" But Burke, who looked over the heads of centuries, spoke truth in vain. George III and Lord North resolved upon the subjugation of the colonists. The colonists were British subjects—they were children of Great Britain—they owed allegiance to the English crown—they were "rebels"—the British constitution was founded upon justice and benignity, and its supremacy should be maintained: albeit Americans were deprived of a full participation in its benefits.

The fruit of this insolently wicked policy has passed into the the morals of history. And yet it is revived, copied, adopted, by the administration of Abraham Lincoln. They have both perverted and violated the constitution of their country. That grand instrument of human liberty, begotten of the wisdom of purest statesmanship, baptized in the blood of noblest patriots, and fostered through a long term of suffering and self-denial, has been by them corrupted and deflowered. According to its own preamble, it was framed to "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare" of the several states embraced in the perfect Union. But, according to Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet, its purpose was to consummate a consolidated nationality, and overthrow the integrity of state sovereignty. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution"—reads the tenth article of the great charter—"are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." "The states have no power, other than that which they derive from the nation," replies the government at Washington.

But the states were separate, sovereign and independent, before the constitution had existence. They were sovereign, independent, and separate, when they rebelled against the despotic authority of the mother country. Governor Bernard, in his official dispatches, styled them "the American governments." And they remained, respectively, independent, separate and sovereign, *after* the constitution was ordained. Some of these governments refused, for a time, to adopt it as a league of alliance. Even when they acceded, they still retained their individual constitutions, legislatures, laws, distinctive usages, and every paraphernalia of freedom; and where usurpation (as in Maryland) has not prevailed, they do so now. The Federal constitution had to be ratified by the conventions of the respective states: by this mode only it could attain the virtue of becoming vital. Had it been rejected by a majority of the

states, it would have forever remained inanimate. But, having been adopted, did it necessarily follow that, in the case of its violation, it must be perpetual—that it was to remain binding forever upon the unborn generations of the incomprehensible future? If so, then it resembles wedlock, which none but God should put asunder. If so, it is an anomaly in legislation; or, all legislative acts are irrevocable and eternal. "But here is an extraordinary case—a case of public polity," objects the sophist. Aye, but it is, nevertheless, a mere matter of international contract; and Equity, the handmaiden of Justice, must rule states by the same standard which is prescribed to individuals. "A bargain broken on one side is broken on both," said Daniel Webster—in discussing a similar topic—than whom, whatever may have been his defects as a statesman, there was no greater expositor of the constitution and the laws.

But, in the expression of this opinion, he simply coincided with the well-known doctrines of the Revolutionary fathers. They never regarded the Union other than a confederacy of states, leagued together "for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare." And so the several governments viewed it; otherwise the Union never would have been formed. Mr. Madison maintained that a breach of the fundamental principles of Union compact, by any one part of the societies composing it, would fully absolve the other parts from their voluntary obligations to it; because that the Federal Union constituted a mere convention of individual states, governed by the law of nations, from which it resulted, that "a breach of any one article, by any one party, left all the other parties at liberty to consider the convention as dissolved." From the earliest thought of Union, until the illicit introduction of modern heresy, this was the political philosophy of American government. "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States"—reads the second of the articles of the old confederation. "The said states," says the next article, "hereby severally enter into a firm league of FRIENDSHIP with each other, for their common defence, the securities of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other." Here is the testimony of the dead, vindicating the original and invariable attitude of the South, and illustrating the doctrines which created the old Union. And when these articles proved inadequate—when it became necessary that congress should have the power of raising a revenue to sustain government and pay off the revolutionary debt—and when, accordingly, the present Federal constitution was framed, the states, with singular caution and jealousy, watched and guarded the securities of their individual sovereignties. For commercial reasons, the State of Rhode Island refused to adopt the constitution, until

two years had transpired after its adoption by eleven of the other states. North Carolina remained, for other reasons, but similar in principle, one year out of the Union. And Maryland remained three years out of the old confederation, because the extent of Virginia's share of the territories was so great as to endanger the future equilibrium of state sovereignty. Virginia at length magnanimously removed this cause of difficulty, by ceding her western territorial empire to the convention of states; out of which gift have since been formed the great and antagonistic commonwealths of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. So Achilles lent his arms to Patroclus, not indeed to be used against him or the Hellenic cause; but Hector, in the armor of Pelides, could not be deemed more unnatural by Hellas, than to the eye of reason appears the strange sight of these states, arming to subjugate their parental benefactress, and suffocate the principles which gave them liberty and life.

But in the face of this attempted matricidal crime—the sin of black ingratitude, and of a devastating invasion—in defiance of the fundamental tenets of the revolution, and of the time-hallowed doctrines of the fathers, those states are now in arms against nature, history, and reason. As early as 1798, the author of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, held “that the several states composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that * * * * *

* * as in all other cases of compact, having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.” And this was the theory espoused by Patrick Henry, James Madison, Edmund Randolph, Mason and Nicholas. The idea of the general government's having any power other than that of mere agency, was regarded as un-American and iniquitous. “To coerce the states is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised,” said Alexander Hamilton. “This constitution,” asserted Mr. Ellsworth, “does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, states, in their political capacities. No coercion is applicable to such bodies.” And, during the seventy-two years of our past American self-government, the constitution was administered sixty of those years, in harmony with these Southern principles, and mainly by Southern statesmen. Washington's rule lasted eight years; Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, ruled twenty-four years; Jackson was President eight years; and the reins of government were wielded for sixteen years by Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore and Pierce. Add to these the four years administration of President Buchanan, and we have sixty, out of the seventy-two years, of Southern policy in increasing the grandeur and perpetuating the liberty of America. But throughout this period it was never denied, to any consid-

erable or dangerous extent, that the people of one generation, and of any one political commonwealth, had the right to duly assemble in convention, and alter or modify their present institutions. The sovereignty of the states was conceded to be the sheet-anchor of the republic—was regarded as sacred, inherent, inalienable and unrestricted. For instance (and merely as an illustration), in the year 1845, it was proposed to admit Texas as a state into the league of United States. On the 1st day of March, by joint resolution, congress consented "that the territory properly included and rightfully belonging to the *Republic of Texas* may be erected into a new state;" and that "the said Republic of Texas *shall retain* all the public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of every kind, which may belong to or be due and owing said republic," etc., etc.; "*but in no event are said debts and liabilities to become a charge on the government of the United States.*" Here we witness the latter power in the character of an agent, but the former in the garments of a sovereign. On the 29th day of December following, it was declared by congress, "That the State of Texas shall be one, and is hereby declared to be one, of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states." That "footing" consisted of being secured in the guaranties of the Federal constitution, which stipulates upon its face to insure every state a republican form of government, and their people, to the latest posterity, the blessings of liberty.

Now, this was a contract, with well-marked and carefully defined limits, between the United States of America and the Republic of Texas, resembling, in a moral sense at least, every other honorable covenant made between men or nations; and the latter, finding the conditions of the league violated—finding usurpation instead of republicanism—tyranny in lieu of liberty—war in the place of blessings—injustice for equity—would she not, of natural right, be absolved from the partnership, and have "an equal right to judge for herself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress?" He who would deny it, has studied neither Grotius nor Vattel—Blackstone nor Kent—he is ignorant of law.

This, however, is not fable; it is fact. The principles upon which rested the edifice of Union have been ruthlessly subverted. The sovereignty of the states has not only been invaded, but its existence pronounced a mere myth. State conventions have been dispersed; state legislatures banished or imprisoned; state laws set at open defiance; state elections tampered with and corrupted; and the United States gazetted to mankind as a CONSOLIDATED NATIONALITY. "The Union gave each of the states"—wrote Mr. Lincoln in his message to the Northern congress, July, 1861—"whatever independence and liberty it had. The Union is older than any of the states,

and in fact it created them as states."* The brazen effrontery of these falsehoods, or the invincible ignorance of their author, might well excite either the pity or contempt of a philosopher, did not history teach that audacity and perfidy are characteristics of tyrants. The commonwealth of Virginia, whose sages were instrumental in forming the Union, and out of whose territories were made sovereign states, is told that she is younger than the Union; North Carolina, which hesitated for more than one year to ratify the constitution of the United States, is taught that by the Union she was first made a state; and the Republic of Texas is informed, that "whatever independence or liberty she had," flowed from the same source! Surely, the North has a Daniel in her presidential chair.

"I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the States, and will, to the best of my ability, *preserve*, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States"—was the inauguration oath of Abraham Lincoln. That constitution recognizes the sovereign independence of each and every state—guarantees to them separate and free forms of government—renders their laws and possessions exempt from all external influences—upholds them as equal partners of a general agency—gave to congress the power of *regulating* the territories for the mutual advantage of all—and clothed it with absolute and exclusive jurisdiction (except in adjusting what might promote the general welfare) only in a district of ten miles square; but Mr. Lincoln interpreted the constitution, and respected his oath, so as to render state governments mere nullities—political toys—nonentities. He created new offices, and swarmed upon independent states hiringling myrmidons to devour their substance. He raised standing armies without law and without authority. He rendered the military power absolute over the civil. And he made the jurisdiction of the constitution the slave of his will. The right of the Federal authority to make war upon, or coerce a state into obedience, was, in the convention that framed it, indignantly denied to the constitution; but he has undertaken to subjugate and lay waste fourteen states, and to crush their peoples beneath the fiery heel of war. Congress alone had power to raise

* Such is his opinion. But in a speech delivered by him, in the United States House of Representatives, Jan. 12th, 1848, he said: "Any people, anywhere, being inclined, and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is the right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that *can*, may revolutionize, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movements. Such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by *old laws*, or *old laws*; but to break up both and make *new ones*."

and support armies; and to provide for organizing and disciplining the militia; but he usurped this power by issuing his proclamation calling seventy-five thousand men into the field. Congress alone had the right to declare war, to provide for and maintain a navy; but this power he assumed without authority. The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, says the constitution; but upon this privilege he has trampled in Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky. The right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition government for a redress of grievances was equally inalienable; yet this right was abolished in New York by police intervention. So, "no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause;" but Mr. Lincoln procured the arrest of inoffensive citizens without *either* warrant or cause.* The same constitution provides that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall be informed of the nature and cause of accusation; *he* hurried hundreds to the dungeons of his prisons and denied to them the benefits of this provision. It guaranteed that no person should be held guilty of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court; but without evidence, authority of court, or form of trial, *he* has condemned and incarcerated men and women upon mere suspicion. It provided that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused should be entitled to the assistance of counsel for his defence; *he* has confined within the walls of a military fortress one of counsel for such prisoners (Algernon S. Sullivan); and, although entitled to "a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury," he was never confronted by an accuser. By virtue of the eighth amendment to the constitution, excessive bail should not be asked, excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; yet

*As a single individual illustration of the Northern despotism, we will simply refer to the case of Mrs. Greenhow, the widow of the late Professor Greenhow, formerly principal translator in the United States Department of State. From a communication addressed by her to Secretary Seward, we make the following extract: "I most respectfully submit, that on Friday, August 23d, without warrant or other show of authority, I was arrested by the detective police, and my house taken in charge by them; that all my private letters and papers of a life-time, were read and examined by them; that every law of decency was violated in the search of my house and person, and by the surveillance over me. We read in history, that the poor Maria Antoinette had a paper torn from her bosom by lawless hands, and that even a change of linen had to be effected in sight of her brutal captors. It is my sad experience to record even more revolting outrages than that, for during the first days of my imprisonment, whatever necessity forced me to seek my chamber, a detective stood sentinel at the open door. And thus, for a period of seven days, I, with my little child, was placed absolutely at the mercy of men without character or responsibility; that during the first evening, a portion of these men became brutally drunk, and boasted in my hearing of the "nice times" they expected to have with the female prisoners; and that rude violence was used toward a colored servant girl during that evening, the extent of which I have not been able to learn. For any show of decorum afterwards practised towards me, I was indebted to the detective called Captain Dennis." Mrs. Greenhow adds, that in her own house, which has been converted into her prison, a public prostitute is lodged and supported by the Federal government.

Mr. Lincoln refuses to grant his victims trial—refuses to accept bail on their behalf—and has committed many of them to the cells invariably selected for murderers, notorious criminals, and incorrigible vagabonds. No person should be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; but he has had citizens arrested and imprisoned, then discharged as guiltless, and afterward rearrested and deprived of liberty. Congress was prohibited from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press;" he has stifled the freedom of speech, and suppressed the circulation of every newspaper of his section which dared to condemn his policy. This has been the fate of the New York Day Book, News, Journal of Commerce, Freeman's Journal, Brooklyn Eagle, Philadelphia Christian Observer, Westchester (Pa.) Jeffersonian, Bridgeport (Conn.) Farmer, and a long catalogue of others. "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized," was a solemn assurance of the constitution. But he regarded it with scorn.

He had innocent men and women seized in the silent hours of night, by rude and drunken officers. He had houses—which are usually supposed to be castles of freemen—subjected to the unreasonable searches of a blackguard soldiery, fished, for the most part, from purlieus of vice and sinks of degradation. In the seizure of private papers, he went so far as to cause his marshals to make a concerted descent, at three o'clock on a certain afternoon, upon every considerable telegraph office within the compass of his rule, and grasp their accumulated despatches for the preceding twelve months, with a view of ascertaining who were the Northern confidential correspondents of influential men in the Confederate States. "The whole matter was managed with the greatest secrecy, and so well planned that the project was a complete success," said his most unscrupulous organ next day, in announcing the consummation of the abominable manœuvre. And, to perfect the enslavement of those whom he rules, he had the writ of *habeas corpus* virtually abolished—that sacred privilege which carries the mind of the freeman back to the struggle at Runnymede, and weds the history of the present day to that of the Middle age. It was provided by the constitution that "the writ of *habeas corpus* should not be suspended, unless in cases of rebellion or invasion." The State of Maryland was not invaded, except by Federal soldiers; neither had she rebelled against the government of the Union; yet, when one of her citizens—Mr. John Merriman—was illegally deprived of liberty, the venerable process issued out in his behalf, and made returnable before the Chief Justice of the

United States, who had administered the oath of office to the President, was contemptuously spit upon by Mr. Lincoln, whose sworn duty it was to guard it; and in every Northern state this writ of freedom is now suspended!

But the tyranny of Mr. Lincoln did not stop with the oppression of individuals; he went so far as to render the hereditary rights of societies nugatory. "Full faith and credit," reads the constitution, "shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." But the decrees of state conventions; the enactments of state legislatures; or the proceedings of state courts, have been treated by him of less value than the paper upon which they were recorded. "Nothing in this constitution," adds the same great charter, "shall be so construed as to prejudice the claims of the *United States*, or of *any particular state*" to the territories of the Union. Not one foot of such soil shall ever be given up to the institutions of the Southern states, is the magisterial proclamation of Mr. Lincoln. "No preference shall be given, by any regulations of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over another; nor shall vessels, bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another." His violation of this clause is positively sublime. He has already blockaded the ports and harbors of twelve sovereign states, and caused vessels bound to them to change their course and enter into the ports of other states. "No new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress," reads the noble treaty; but Mr. Lincoln and his government, without the consent of any legislature, have endeavored to erect a new state out of the disloyal counties of Western Virginia, and are now laboring to "form a junction" of the counties of Northumberland and Accomac, Va., with the State of Delaware. The constitution provides that "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to *all* the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." But to be a citizen of a Southern state, without being a sworn traitor to birth-right, is a sufficient cause for imprisonment and confiscation of property at the North. The war-making power was invested in congress only, yet, without its sanction, or any other legal authority whatever, Mr. Lincoln made war upon the Confederate States. All and every state were prohibited, without the consent of Congress, from engaging in war, unless *actually* invaded or in imminent danger. But without invasion, or danger of invasion, he induced most of the states to make war upon the others. The power of, or right in the Federal government to invade or coerce a state, was refused to the constitution by those the work of

whose souls it was; yet the world beholds to-day the strange spectacle of fourteen sovereignties invaded, or in actual danger of invasion. An army of subjugation is upon Virginia's soil; the tramp of the oppressor's heel is heard upon an inlet of North Carolina; and while these lines are writing, the roar of the invader's cannon calls to arms the sons of the little Spartan state of Jackson and Calhoun.

In Missouri, unparalleled outrages were, and are still being perpetrated. The dignity of the commonwealth was grossly insulted. Her people were stripped of their natural rights and liberties. The solemn enactments of her legislature were nullified and ridiculed. Her militia were disarmed, persecuted, and arrested. Her commerce was suppressed. Her newspapers were silenced. Her children were placed under the espionage of unprincipled men, and handed over to the ruthless mercilessness of an armed soldiery. Her best sons were imprisoned—debarred from the pleasures of home, native fields, and the sweet wooings of nature—without crime and without warrant; and unoffending women and children were barbarously murdered, or shot down like quarry, in her cities. Finally, the state was declared under martial law!

Passing over the fields laid waste—the towns and villages razed or burned—the property stolen or destroyed—the churches desecrated and women ravished in Virginia, we come to Kentucky—a state claimed to be still in the Union. Unfortunately for this chivalrous commonwealth, while influenced by the concerted advice of timid men and false teachers, she resolved upon being an impossibility: she would be neutral, that she might impartially mediate between the unnatural belligerents. But the advocates of neutrality were to her what *Æschines* was to Athens—foxes in the habiliments of lambs. *He* was secretly in league with Philip; *they* were secretly in league with Abraham. They promised fair things—they used specious arguments—they glozed like the serpent, and like the serpent they betrayed. Under the plea of self-protection, they had arms surreptitiously placed in the hands of traitors, to be used against neighbors and fellow-men. Growing bold with temporary success, they had paid mercenaries introduced into, and Federal camps established upon the soil of their own state—the neck of which, by a desperate and cunning stroke, they endeavored to place in the mouth of the wolf. But the people at length awoke, and found that they were entrapped. They beheld their legislature partly venal, partly treacherous, and partly intimidated by military bayonets. They saw that the independent press of their state was either muzzled or silenced. They witnessed loyal citizens hunted like deer or wild fowl, and compelled to seek an asylum of safety in exile. They heard of the arrest at the hour of midnight of eminent

and patriotic statesmen*—men who were venerable from age, and distinguished as public servants during an ordinary lifetime; but whose hands were now pinioned before them, like criminals of ages long past, and carried captive to a military prison in New York, one thousand miles from their homes! But there is a limit to endurance. Young Kentucky took fire and revolted; and that unfortunate state is now precipitated, through the machinations and usurpations of Mr. Lincoln, into a bloody revolution, likely to be unequalled, perhaps, but by one terrible exception, in the annals of history.

In Maryland—unhappy Maryland—his crimes have been still more enormous. There, his uniformed ruffians, in the very dawn of the contest, shot down harmless and defenceless spectators. He had the municipal government of the City of Baltimore subverted. He had the mayor stripped of his legal authority. He had the chief of police, Marshal Kane, arrested and imprisoned. He had the board of police commissioners abolished, and the old police force substituted by a corps of men, many of whose portraits had previously been ornaments in "the rogues' gallery." These base hirelings, without warrant or other judicial sanction, invaded the sanctuary of private dwellings, seized private papers, carried away private property, and arrested inoffensive men. They made war upon the texture of ladies' dresses and children's clothes, when their colors approximated to those of the Confederate flag. The people were disarmed. The state was garrisoned by a Federal force of between thirty-five and forty thousand men, in three divisions, respectively commanded by Generals Banks, Sickles, and Dix.

Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, is a man whose political life commenced as a democrat, but, being governed by a sordid ambition, he soon became wearied of laboring with an

* From a newspaper in the interest of Mr. Lincoln, the Cincinnati Commercial we gather the following: "Colonel Connell and other officers visited Judge Jackson—one of the bitterest secessionists in Knox county, Ky. He is wealthy and influential, and distinguished himself recently by hospitality to Zollicoffer and his officers, but declined to call upon the Federal officers. Col. Connell and Lieutenant-Colonel Spears, of the First (Federal) Tennessee regiment, concluded to visit him. They called at night, and the family, supposing they came to arrest the judge, were much distressed. * * * After fumbling about the house for some time, a member of the family found a Bible, and the oath was administered with threatening emphasis to Jackson. The judge was required to place his hand on the Bible, and Spears dictated to him the extremest minutiae of an oath which covered the ground entirely, and closed by exclaiming: 'And so, in the name of Almighty God, you do solemnly swear, as you hope for salvation, that you will true allegiance bear to the Government of the United States, *without equivocation or mental reservation.*' When the judge responded affirmatively, Spears ordered him to kiss the Bible. The former demurred that the oath was not administered in Kentucky in that way. Spears replied, he 'didn't care a g—d d—n what they did in Kentucky, the Bible must be kissed,' and it was."

And this but a single instance, in illustration of a general and vulgar tyranny.

unprofitable minority, and veered with every change of the popular compass, until he was made a general of division by President Lincoln. Daniel E. Sickles, of New York, is a *person* of yet more unenviable fame.* John A. Dix has had the advantages of a tolerable education and good social intercourse; but nature made him hollow-hearted, cunning, selfish, parsimonious, ungenerous, ungrateful, and unprincipled. His life-Odyssey has been that of a place-hunter. In 1848 he deserted the Democratic party, and, by rebellion, helped to bring upon it disaster and defeat. Next, he professed penitence, and was once more received into its folds; and now we find him allied to his hereditary political foes, an avenging scourge in the service of Abraham Lincoln.

The wrongs inflicted upon a peculiarly sensitive and high-spirited people, by a ribald and undisciplined soldiery so officered, may be more easily conceived than described.† They are subjected daily to insult and abuse—to rapine and murder. Many of the most opulent and estimable sons of Maryland, upon mere suspicion, or to gratify private malice, have been torn from their families and consigned to loathsome dungeons. The writ of *habeas corpus* has been suspended in their midst, and the courts rendered powerless to protect them. The poor of Baltimore have been deprived of the daily rations, supplied to them by the Christian munificence of their fellow-citizen, Ross Winans, who was rewarded for his charity, by Mr. Lincoln, with a cell in a military fortress. General Dix has levelled his cannon at the devoted city, from forts, camps, and entrenchments, with the promise to lay it into ashes in case of an attack being made upon him by the Confederates. During the sitting of the state convention, fearful that it might pass an ordinance of secession, he watched its proceedings like a martinet, and, with the clangor of surrounding arms, intimidated its members, as the notorious Major Sirr sought to intimidate the celebrated Celtic advocate while defending one of the "United Irishmen." Finally, he had the members of the state legislature, supposed

* We omit the personal description of this notorious character.—Ed.

† Dr. William Howard Russell, special correspondent of the London Times, in one of his recent letters to that world-renowned journal, says: "Let the members of the English club picture such a scene as this: A body of men in plain clothes march up to the steps, forbid any one to leave the house, place guards in the hall, take the keys out of the doors, proceed to tear up the floors, to disturb the cellars and throw over the coals—refuse to show any warrant to any of the members, and merely state that they are looking for concealed arms by authority of the marshal, and then leave as they came, without the production of warrant, or showing in dress, uniform or badge, that they are really constables, or employed by any authority whatever. And yet this is what took place at the Maryland club, in Baltimore, the day of my arrival—a club of the most respectable gentlemen in the state—without a word of excuse, explanation or apology. It is not perverting hospitality, nor is it hostility to republican institutions, to condemn such acts as these."

to be loyal to the South, banished or imprisoned, so as to prevent the meeting of that representative body.*

Thus was every vestige of liberty and security to the citizen overthrown—thus were municipal rights cancelled and destroyed—and thus was state sovereignty obliterated by Abraham Lincoln—a man whose sworn obligations were, to protect and preserve each and all—a man who, were it not beneath the dignity of history, one might, in the language of Curran, brand as “the perjurer of an hundred oaths,” who blasts the memory of the dead, blights the hopes of the living, and measures his greatness upon the ruin of his country and the graves of his victims.

But the melancholy feature of this picture is in the singular attitude assumed by the people of the North. It has been severely said of the Scotch, that they sold their king and country for a pittance, which amounted but to four pence a head, for each of their population. If this were truth, and not fiction, surely the conduct of our present adversaries would put the disgraceful transaction in the shade; for, in forfeiting their liberties, they have gained nothing and lost everything. Accustomed to decry and defame all other governments but their own—accustomed to weep over the fate of Greece, Poland and Hungary—accustomed to espouse the cause of Lombardy and Venetia against Austria, the cause of the Papal states against the Pope—they have voted thousands, reckoned by hundreds, of men, and millions of money, to support a despotism, compared with which those of King Bomba and Francis Joseph were balm, in order to crush out a people who keep the vestal flame alive, kindled by Washington and Jefferson!

“There is the moral of all human tales;
’Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
First freedom, and then glory—when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last.
And history, with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page.”

Justice may be compatible with monarchy, but never with tyranny. The tyrant feels that justice can always be disputed by force, and he relies upon the power of the latter to wring submission from weakness. The Northern government felt that justice and right were on the side of the South, but, in the consciousness of possessing numbers, brute force, an organized army and navy, bullion, and established authority, it eschewed these facts. Secession, indeed, was revolution; but it was unlike any other revolution of history; it was a revolution of

* No wonder, then, that Lord Lyons, H. B. Majesty's minister at Washington, in a dispatch to William H. Seward, should have characterized the Lincoln government as a “despotic and arbitrary power,” which “refused to pay obedience to the writ of *habeas corpus*,” and the “irregular proceedings” of which are “contrary to the maxims of the United States.” Indeed, the only wonder is, that that wretched government has not earned for itself the contempt of all civilized mankind.

opinion; not the work of an individual or of a political party, but the natural result and spontaneous desire of a magnanimous people; it was a revolution without a leader, yet a revolution in which all men were leaders—rendering it impossible to sacrifice any one man for an assumed political crime, where all men were alike criminal; it was born of homogeneous sentiments, and designed as a resisting barrier of ancient rights and habits against the contagious encroachments and aggression of new modes of thought in heterogeneous forces; and the height of its Christian ambition was to be bloodless. The South supplicated the North for peace—to borrow the language of Ariosto—in words “which might for pity stop the passing sun.” Past memories were invoked by the former; she appealed to reason; she argued that a Union not founded upon principles of mutual rectitude and benevolence, and not cemented by bonds of love, was unworthy of the name and could not stand; yet, upon the ruins of the structure, men of a common lineage, a common tongue, and a common heritage of historic patriotism, might still meet upon terms of kindness and amity, and pursue, albeit by two different paths, a common career toward a destiny of greatness and splendor. But all this moderation and good faith were answered by threats and execrations: the North resolved upon a policy of blood and carnage—a policy beneath the social economy of animal instinct, and, therefore, unworthy of being termed *brutal*. For he who will enter some fine zoological garden—who will mark the conduct and intercourse of the varied creatures congregated there together—study their leagues of tender and generous friendships—see how they accommodate themselves to the circumstances of their new condition—and then compare their virtuous alliance with the barbarous warfare of the North, will hesitate to rank the *human* with the *brutal* government. We have seen children at a menagerie cultivate with crackers and sweetmeats the friendship of grizzly bears; but the generous leniency of the South served only to lash the North into savage blood-thirstiness. And, surely, the sociological machinery whereby nature regulates the harmony of Barnum’s “happy family,” is higher in the scale of moral self-government than that by which the people of the latter section seek to force the former into submission—the boom of the cannon, the click of the rifle, and the point of the bayonet. But the contrast does not cease here. The lordly lion will roar when in quest of prey; the rattlesnake will warn its victim before it poisons; man alone assassinates; and the North endeavored to lull the South into a slumber of confidence, with the intention of then strangling her.

ART. XIV.—THE PINE TREES OF LOWER NORTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA.

Pines made a large proportion of the trees of the primitive forests of the eastern and lower lands of North Carolina and Virginia. And when any of these lands had been cleared and cultivated, exhausted and abandoned, then a new growth of pines formed the universal unmixed cover. As nearly all the lands of lower Virginia had been thus treated, and in succession had reached this second growth, which thus covered all the then poorest and most worthless lands, a general cover of pines, and the term "pine old-fields," came to be generally understood as indicative of the poorest and meanest of lands. For this reason, and also because of the growth of pines being so common and pervading, these trees were not only undervalued, but despised. If a natural forest of various trees was thinned out to make an ornamental grove near a mansion, every noble pine would be certainly cut out, as if a deformity and a worthless lumberer of the ground. In planting trees for the embellishment of homesteads, if any proprietor had selected in part any of our native pines for that purpose, his taste would have been deemed as ridiculous as it was novel and strange. For the most magnificent pines, or the unmixed evergreen of a pine forest in winter, to be admired, it was requisite that the observer should be a stranger, from some distant region, in which pine trees and pine forests were not known. Then, indeed, and in all such cases, their remarkable beauty and grandeur would be fully acknowledged and felt.

All of the many species of pines have the properties of being resinous, bearing their seeds in cones; which, however varying in size and form, have a close general resemblance, and there is a like general similarity of shape, differing from all other trees, of their peculiar evergreen leaves. These spring from sheaths, or are held in clusters of two, three or more leaves to each sheath, according to the species of the tree. The leaves, differing from all others, except of the kindred family of the *larch*, are long and slender, almost as thick as their width, and of equal diameter throughout their length, except immediately at the extremity, which is a sharp point. The new leaves, as on other trees, grow only on the new twigs (or "water-sprouts") which shoot out in the spring from the last year's buds. But the leaves of the preceding year's growth remain attached to the older branches through a second summer, if not the autumn also. In some species, the leaves sometimes in part remain into the third year before dropping off entirely.

Some of our species of pines are of such distinct and marked appearance that the most careless observer would not fail to distinguish them. Such are the Southern long-leaf pine (*pinus australis*), the Jersey pine (*p. inops*), and the white pine (*p. strobus*). But many farmers who have long lived on cultivated lands, among pines, have not learned always to distinguish other still more common species. And even when this knowledge is not wanting, still there is such confusion and misapplication of the vulgar names of all the kinds, that it is difficult for any one to speak of or to inquire concerning any one pine, by the vulgar name of his own neighborhood, without the name being misapplied by an auditor from another locality. Thus, the name "yellow pine," in different places is used for three different species, of all of which the heart-wood is more or less yellowish. The name "spruce pine" is used in Virginia for one species of pine, and farther south for another. And the several designations of "long-leaf pine," "short-leaf," "old-field pine," etc., are merely terms relative, or used in contrast with other different growths, and are each applied to different kinds in different places. Even the botanical names, though serving generally for exact des-

ignation, in most cases have either no special application, or are entirely erroneous as to their meanings. Such are the designations "*mitis*," "*inops*," and especially "*palustris*," as descriptive terms of species. Further, the qualities and value for timber, and even appearance of pines of the same species, are so much varied by different conditions of situation and growth, that some of the most experienced and intelligent "timber-getters" (or "lumberers") consider as two distinct species, trees which belong to the same. I have, myself, until recently, been under some of these mistakes as to the species with which I had longest been familiar. Under such circumstances I cannot even now be confident of avoiding errors. But even my mistakes (if corrected by others better informed), as well as my correct descriptions and designations, may serve to clear away much of the obscurity and error in which this subject has been involved.

One of the most remarkable and valuable qualities of some of the pines is, that their winged seeds are distributed by winds to great distances, and in great numbers, so that every abandoned field is speedily and thickly seeded, and the kind of pine which is most favored by the soil and situation in a few years covers the ground with its young plants. The growth, especially of the most common second-growth pine (*p. taeda*), is astonishingly rapid, and even on the poorest land. And while other land might still be bare of trees, that which favors this growth would be again under a new and heavy, though young, growth of pines. This offers (especially in connection with the use of calcareous manures) the most cheap, rapid and effectual means for great improvement of poor soils. And besides this greatest end, the cover of the more mature wood, if marketable for fuel, will offer the quickest and greatest return of crop that could have been obtained from such poor and exhausted land.

I will now proceed to remark on each of the several species of pines found anywhere in the region in view, and will commence with such as are most easily and certainly to be distinguished, before treating those less distinguishable, or in regard to which there may yet remain any doubt or uncertainty.

The Long-Leaf or Southern Pine. Pinus Australis of Michaux, Palustris of Linnaeus.—The name *palustris*, notwithstanding its high authority, is altogether inappropriate, as this pine prefers dry soil, and is rarely seen, and never in perfection, on wet or even slightly moist ground. *Australis* is peculiarly appropriate, as this tree is limited to a southern climate.

This species barely extends a few miles north of the southern boundary of Virginia, in the southeastern counties of Southampton and Nansemond. Few, if any, stand in the lower and wetter lands of the more eastern counties in the same southern range. The long-leaf pine prefers dry and sandy soils, and is found, almost without interruption, says Michaux, "in the lower Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, over a tract of more than six hundred miles, from northeast to southwest, and more than one hundred miles broad," but not (as that author also says) from the sea to the mountains, or near to either, in North Carolina. In that state it extends westward not much higher than the falls of the rivers, and toward the sea no farther than the edge of the broad border of low, flat and moist ground. Its general and best growth also equally indicates a sterile soil. The mean size, sixty to seventy feet high, with a nearly uniform diameter of fifteen to eighteen inches for two-thirds of the height. Some trees are much larger and taller. Leaves ten to twelve inches long (fourteen and more on some young trees),*

* I have since found and measured leaves nineteen and a half inches long, in Barnwell, South Carolina.

growing in threes (to each sheath), and about one-sixteenth to one thirtieth of an inch in breadth. The cones from seven to eight inches long, and two to two and a half broad before opening of the scales or seed-covers, or four inches when spread open.*

ART. XV.—WHAT WE ARE GAINING BY THE WAR.

VIRGINIA.

LYNCHBURG.—The following branches of business have been commenced since the commencement of the existing war:

One envelop factory has been established—one for the manufacture of blacking, and one for making lucifer matches. The manufacture of caps and hats is also being carried on quite extensively. Other factories will be established in a few days. In the neighborhood several tanneries have been established, and the tanning of leather is being carried on quite extensively.

ABINGDON.—Sixteen miles from this place the saltworks are located, where they are manufacturing about two thousand bushels salt per day (twenty-four hours), and are putting up furnaces to increase the amount.

Across the Tennessee line, and about fifteen miles south of us, they have several iron forges, with the greatest abundance of the best ore, and one furnace, where they make a large amount of castings and pig iron.

MADISON.—The only branch of manufacture which has sprung up in this county during the existing war, and which did not previously exist, is a boot and shoe factory, recently started by John Leech & Co. They have, I understand, a government contract for shoes, and I notice that they have advertised for fifty shoe makers.

LOUISA C. H.—There are eight yards in the county, where hides are tanned into leather—the largest employs five hands. Will put in tan for the next season fifteen hundred hides; heretofore, tanned about one thousand hides. The owners of the other yards will, no doubt, increase their operations in about the same proportion. There are fifteen shops where shoes are made. Shoe making in this county, heretofore, has been to supply the neighborhood demand, mainly. It will be stimulated by the high prices now obtained.

There are three shops at which saddles and harness are made. This branch of industry has decreased, owing, I suppose, to the large number of our men being absent in the army, and the difficulty of getting, as well as the high price of materials.

FINCASTLE.—No additional manufactures have sprung up in our midst since the commencement of the war, with the exception of a furnace for the manufacture of iron, which had ceased before the war but has since been revived.

CHARLOTTESVILLE.—Charlottesville Factory Company, John A. Marchant, manager, established in the year 1840. Suspended from 1852 to April, 1855, by breaking of the dam. Now spins cotton and wool, and manufactures them into cloth suitable for soldiers' and laborers' wear. Has fifteen hands employed; could be increased so as to employ fifty hands; prevented by the want of cotton and wool and the article *card clothing*.

* As soon as space admits we shall publish the remainder of this description of the Long Leaf Pine, and of all the other varieties existing at the South.—Ed.

The difficulty in procuring wool and cotton is in the transportation from Texas and the South, where both articles are believed to be abundant. The article of *card clothing* is believed not to be manufactured in the Confederate States.

Buckeye Land Factory, ten miles from this place. Manufactures cotton and woolen goods. B. C. Flannagan & Co. Employs forty hands. No increase within the last year; rather a decrease for the want of card clothing and travellers in spinning cotton. No complaint for the want of wool and cotton.

Scottsville Manufacturing Company, twenty miles from this place. Established in the last eight or nine months. Employs twenty-five hands. Manufactures woolen goods.

McKennie & Co.—Manufactures Swords. Established last July within one mile of this place. Has four hands employed. Manufactures six swords a week; intends to increase.

T. D. Driscoll—Manufactures Swords. Established within the last few months at Howardsville, twenty-five miles from this place. Makes twenty-eight a week.

William Jefferies—Saddle and Harness maker. Established here in 1827. Employs five hands; business diminished; three hands in the army. Can get an abundance of leather tanned in this county. Has manufactured and is now manufacturing cartridge-boxes, belts, cap-boxes and harness for the Confederate army.

A. J. Hudson—Saddle and Harness maker. Established several years ago. Employs three hands. Has manufactured cartridge-boxes, belts, cap-boxes and harness for the Confederate army.

F. A. & T. Hoppe—Shoe and Boot makers. Established one year ago. Employs eighteen hands; number of hands diminished by five in the army. Make more shoes and boots than formerly, because work more and do not make as much fine work. Leather obtained from this and the adjoining counties. Shoe-thread made in this county.

Thos. R. Bailey & Son—Shoe and Boot makers. Established several years ago. Employ fifteen hands. Do more coarse work than formerly.

—Zimmerman—Shoe and Boot maker. Employs four hands.

D. E. Eger—Shoe and Boot maker. Employs two hands.

Orange O. Peterson—Shoe and Boot maker. Employs two hands.

G. E. Saltzgeber—Hat maker. Established several years ago. Has discontinued the hat making business, because he wants materials that are not manufactured in North America. Has changed his business within the last few months into making caps of all kinds for men and boys. Materials made in the Confederate States. Has seven hands employed.

John Robinson—Manufactures Caps for men and boys. Commenced in June last. Employs six hands.

R. F. Harris—Agricultural Machinist. Established January 1st, 1861. Employs twelve hands. Has a foundry for iron castings, machine shop and blacksmith shop; makes gun-carriages and caissons, horse-shoes and stoves, ploughs and plough castings.

S. R. Sullivan—Carriage and Harness maker. John Le Tellier—Carriage and Harness maker. J. A. Via—Carriage and Harness maker. Business of each considerably diminished.

B. C. Flannagan & —Cleveland, within the last few months, have a considerable number of bags made by the women of this place out of cotton osaburgs.

Spotswood Keller will commence in a few days manufacturing oil-cloth.

There is one tan-yard in this place; many others in the county. The tailoring business has increased in this place.

PORTSMOUTH.—The present war has, however, called out the inventive skill of our people to some extent, and I shall endeavor very briefly to give you a statement in relation to the same.

1. Mr. Thomas W. Cofer, of this city, has, since the commencement of the war, invented and *patented* a revolving pistol, pronounced by judges to be superior to the celebrated Colt pistol. He is engaged at present in manufacturing them on a small scale, as his means are limited.

2. I would also notice the invention of Mr. Thomas Carr, a citizen of this city, for rifling cannon, which has been successfully applied in the navy-yard at this place, and no doubt, in the present crisis of our affairs, has been an invaluable invention to the government.

3. There is also in this city an extensive foundry, originally designed for the building of steam marine, or other engines, upon a large scale. It was the property of A. Mehaffy & Co., of the State of Pennsylvania, and at present is not in operation. The establishment is an extensive one, and as for proof of this I would state that the machinery of the U. S. steamer Powhatan, one of the best vessels in the Federal service, was built there.

4. There is also an extensive sash, door and blind factory here, belonging to Capt. John E. Deans, who is at this time in the army. There are also several establishments of a similar kind on a smaller scale.

5. I would also notice the Union Car Works, of which Capt. George W. Grice is the agent. Their regular business having been, to a great extent, suspended on account of the war, they have been engaged since the commencement of our present difficulties in building gun-carriages, wagons, wheelbarrows, camp-stools, tent-poles and pins, and other implements of war. They have also manufactured sabre-bayonets and bowie-knives for two of the companies from the city, which, considering the *limited facilities* of the establishment, reflect great credit upon all concerned, proving conclusively that we have mechanics in our midst who are equal to any in mechanical skill, and only wait for an emergency like the present to put their knowledge and ingenuity into practical operation.

6. There are also a number of persons in this city and vicinity engaged in the manufacture of bricks and lime; very little doing, however, in business of that kind, as nearly all building has stopped since the commencement of the war.

7. There is also connected with the Seaboard and Roanoke railroad a number of shops, sufficient to do all the work necessary to carry on the road.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WLMINGTON.—*Alcohol* is manufactured to a limited extent—former supplies received from the North—present produce results from the war.

Ashes.—The manufacture of potash in connection with salt-boiling is increasing—none ever made here before the war.

Candles.—Tallow candles are manufactured to a limited extent only—present produce results from the war—former supplies received from the North.

Hay.—The production of this article has increased to a considerable extent since the commencement of the existing war—former supplies were received from the North.

Oils.—Pea-nut oil is now supplied by mills established since the commencement of the war. Rosin oil is also manufactured to a considerable extent—both productions the results of the war.

Salt.—The manufacture of this article by evaporation or boiling is largely on the increase—former supplies were received from the West Indies and England. This branch of manufacture cannot, however, be considered

permanent, as the imported article will always take the place of that manufactured on our coast by the above process.

Shoes are manufactured to a limited extent only. The disposition to extend this branch of manufacture is, however, apparent.

Cutlery.—Sabres, sabre-bayonets and other implements of war, are now being manufactured here for the Confederate government, and the manufacture of various kinds of edge tools, in connection with the above, will be carried on largely as soon as works, now in process of erection, are completed. Other establishments for the manufacture of various kinds of machinery are growing towards completion, and all the results of the war.

CHARLOTTE.—One establishment for the manufacture of linseed or flaxseed oil, with a capacity to turn out five hundred gallons per day, will go into operation by the first of January next. One for the manufacture of cotton seed oil, on a small scale; will turn out about fifty gallons per day; will commence manufacturing in a couple of weeks. One hat manufactory for making soft hats; machinery nearly all ready; will commence in about thirty days; with capacity to make one hundred and fifty hats per day—run by steam. One powder mill, "The North Carolina Powder Manufacturing Company;" will manufacture one thousand pounds per day, with capacity to double the quantity. The state has loaned this company \$10,000. But they are not bound to supply her with powder. Will commence operating by the 16th of January next. These, I believe, comprise all the new branches of manufacture about going into operation in this place and vicinity. In addition, we have in operation two tanneries—one running by steam. One manufactory of woolen goods, averaging five hundred yards per day. One manufactory of cotton yarns, putting up fifty bunches per day. And one cotton and woolen manufactory, situated in the adjoining county, Gaston, twelve miles from here. But the entire amount manufactured there is sold here, and shipped from this point. They average twelve hundred yards of cotton and four hundred of woolen goods per day. Both of these (woolen mills) are engaged by the state in supplying our soldiers with clothing. There are also two leather manufacturing establishments here, that are for working up leather, one of which works fifty hands per day.

GREENSBORO'.—Messrs. Mendenhall, Jones & Gardner, of this place, are now engaged in the manufacturing of guns for the State of North Carolina. This establishment is just getting under way, and it is the intention of the proprietors to manufacture largely so soon as they can get their machinery in operation. In addition to this establishment, the Messrs. Garretts have commenced the manufacture of sewing-machines, pistols, guns, etc. We have also a hat establishment, lately gone into operation, working several hands, with a good prospect for patronage. Besides these, other smaller establishments have sprung up in various parts of the county, for making guns, saddles, shoes, barrels, drums, sashes, etc., all of which promise to be remunerative to those engaged in the enterprise, and to render us independent of the North.

BEAUFORT.—The manufacture of salt has been much talked of—indeed, has been begun, though on a very small scale. The impression is, that it can be made a profitable business at one dollar per bushel; could we believe that the war would continue for a term of years, for much less. The manufacture of salt would be no experiment, as it was made here in 1812, and for a short time after.

MONROE.—Domestic Jeans and Linsey cloth has increased in quantity over one hundred per cent. from about two thousand five hundred yards to about six thousand yards. Some contracts for bayonet-scabbards and straps for knapsacks, etc., and also for cartridge-boxes—from fifteen to twenty-five thousand—have been taken and nearly completed.

Shoe making has also been increased to supply the army demand about twenty-five per cent. Tanneries have increased the quantity of leather about the same, and one steam tannery is in the course of construction, which will increase and extend its former business.

Much of the clothing made from jeans, linsey and other domestic fabrics, have been furnished our soldiers from this section.

One steam saw-mill has been erected last summer and fall. Many pairs of socks have been knit.

People have raised more pork than ordinary, and the grain crops are unusually fine.

Some pistols have been manufactured from rifle barrels; several hundred bowie-knives have been manufactured—two hundred or more. Many guns have been repaired, and one centrifugal (model) gun, proposing to shoot two thousand balls per minute, constructed of wood.

Much grain is raised and sold from this county.

Wool growing would be quite abundant and its manufacture much increased, if the dogs did not kill up the sheep.

Pine lumber and shingles are made in considerable quantities, and several gold mines are in operation in the county, but suffer now from the confiscation act, being mainly owned in whole or in part by Northern men.

CARTHAGE.—It affords me much pleasure to be able to assure you that, since the declaration of our independence of the old United States government, and pending the war, our entire people, with unexampled energy, have recurred to the primeval principles and customs of industry, economy, and frugality, which characterized our ancestors for many years subsequent to the wars of '76 and '12. Our men have embarked industriously in making plows, wagons, shoes, tools, and utensils of wood and iron of every description, for domestic purposes; every farmer is putting down his trough or vat for tanning leather. The gun and rifle makers have resumed their wonted art, gone into their shops, forging out barrels and fixing them up, in readiness for service. In an adjacent neighborhood, shoe-pegs are being made, by machinery, in quantities sufficient to meet the demands of the South. In fine, our people are determined scrupulously to live independent of the North, as they are evidencing by their handy inventions. Our women, too, animated with becoming zeal and resolution, to sustain our glorious cause, have put aside their silks, their calicoes, their head-dresses, and covered up their pianos, and have substituted the wheel, the cards, the loom, and are fostering a commendable spirit of emulation in making the largest number of yards, and the neatest patterns of checks and stripes for themselves and their little ones, and the substantial jeans to clothe their husbands, their sons and their brothers in the army, and then for gratuitous distribution to any needy soldiers. They are, without distinction of circle or property, all united in constant and useful engagements in getting up domestics of every kind to add to their comforts at home and supply our army with blankets, clothing, and neat caps, hundreds of which our handy women are making in our town and vicinity. Defend us with your bayonets and we will sustain you with our needles, is the watchword with them.

ROCKINGHAM.—The Richmond Manufacturing Company existed here before the war, but has been enlarged by adding a woolen factory to it. They are now making cotton yarn, cotton cloth of various kinds, and woolen goods suited to the necessities of the army.

In this county, Richmond, Mr. Murdoch Morrison is engaged in making bowie-knives, and has made a few pistols, but his operations are on a small scale.

CHARLOTTE.—We have four sets of machinery at the Rockland woolen mills in active operation, and, since April last, have been exclusively en-

gaged in producing goods for our troops at the rate of about four thousand yards per week. Last year we erected an additional building, and procured from the Northern machine manufacturers all the heavy and expensive machinery necessary to start two sets more, besides a considerable amount of cotton machinery.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

SPARTANBURG.—The firm of John Bomar & Co., now own what was formerly called the Bivingsville Cotton Manufacturing Establishment, of about one thousand five hundred spindles, twenty-six looms, wool-carding machine, with all the necessary preparations; besides, a good machine shop, well fitted up with turning lathes (five in number), cog cutter, plainer, upright drill, etc.; also, grist and flouring mills, blacksmith shops, saw-mill, cupale furnace, cotton gin, wheat thresher, a good grain farm, on about one thousand four hundred acres of land, well improved in good buildings and operators' houses—all forming a very pretty little village of about one hundred and fifty inhabitants. This location is on Lawson's Fork creek, a bold stream of the Packolet river one and a half miles from the Spartanburg and Union railroad, and six miles east of Spartanburg village. The water privilege is hardly equalled in the state, having two very superior water-falls, in either of which the water, by a short canal, will rise to an elevation of thirty to forty feet—all the buildings can be placed beyond the reach of high-water mark (entirely safe). The upper water-fall is so formed by nature as to need no dam, and the water cannot by any improvement on it be retarded from flowing down the stream in ten or twenty minutes at a time; the same may be said of the lower shoal, they are about five or six hundred yards apart—water entirely sufficient to operate extensive machinery, both in cotton and wool, each being at a separate place, very convenient to each other. These privileges, if improved to their capability, are sufficient to turn off from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand dollars worth of goods per annum, and sustain a population of five to six hundred inhabitants. The sufficiency of these would tell well for the people of the Southern Confederacy, but as it now stands the improvements are very limited, and the operation equally so, owing, in part, to the great difficulty of getting oil suitable (fine oils); also, card clothing and other incidentals which are not made South, and we fear will, eventually, check our operations down to a low figure. Winter, strained sperm, paraffine and kerosene oils, are all that is about suitable—any oils that are fine and clear of gum.

LAURENS.—All the old manufactures which may be gathered from the last census have recurred, and have been infused with additional life, and are now working to the extent of their means, more particularly the manufacture of shoe-leather; and the ladies of the country, generally, are making a great quantity of most excellent cloth, of various descriptions, for men's wear, children, negroes, and even for their own wear, which are now taking the place of fine *delaines* and silks. We have some fine shoals in Laurens district, and it is hoped that capital will be employed in using such places for the benefit of our Confederacy, and that this war will arouse every man in it in the development of all our resources, which may tend to make us independent of the word, and especially of the Yankees.

The ladies in one battalion in our district, recently furnished for the uniforms of one company of volunteers three hundred and fifty yards of very nice jeans, five hundred yards of flannel, and three hundred and fifty pairs of socks, in a very short time, made upon the old-fashioned hand-looms, which are numerous in this country, one in almost every family; and some

of the cloth for *service* is equal, if not superior, to the best broad cloth, which only costs from one dollar and fifty cents per yard.

CHESTER C. H.—*Every household* has become a manufacturing establishment; the hum of the spinning-wheel may be heard in every hamlet, and the rattle of the loom sings the song of better times to our glorious South. Old and young, rich and poor, of our females, are daily discarding the baser fabrics of Yankeedom, and are bending their whole energies to keep us supplied with warm clothing, raised and made by their own industry. In *our* community, we are abundantly supplied with all the necessary fabrics for our men in the field, and our families at home. Arrangements are now making for extensive operations in the spring and summer. By the indomitable energies of our noble and patriotic women, we will be enabled to steer clear of Yankee nostrums for the *future*, and learn to depend upon our own industry for a subsistence.

EDITORIAL.

THE CRISIS.—THE PEOPLE'S DUTY.—An address has been sent forth to the people of Georgia, over the signatures of Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, and others, which should be adopted as the war cry for the people of the whole Confederacy.

The enemy must be met, and that quickly, and upon a hundred fields. His vandal hordes must be repulsed—his infamous designs upon us must be frustrated. The liberties bequeathed to us by a glorious ancestry must be preserved. Failing in these, death and desolation should be joyously courted as blessed boons in exchange for dishonor and subjugation!

Who will falter in this the hour of his country's direst need?

In regard to the policy of the torch, we have this to say: Let it be used in every instance where protection and supplies can be cut off from the enemy, and his power of evil can be restricted. As to our glorious old cities, the growth of generations of time, let us save them by the valor of our men; and, if lost, redeem them by the blows we shall strike from interior fastnesses, as did our forefathers in 1776. *The torch will be useless here.* We extract:

"The foot of the oppressor is on the soil of Georgia. He comes with lust in his eye, poverty in his purse and hell in his heart. He comes a robber and a murderer. How shall you meet him? With the sword at the threshold—with death for him or for yourself. But more than this—let every woman have a torch, every child a fire-brand. Let the loved homes of our youth be made ashes, and the fields of our heritage be made desolate. Let blackness and ruin mark your departing steps, if depart you must, and let a desert, more terrible than Sahara, welcome the vandals. Let every city be levelled by the flame, and every village be lost in ashes. Let your faithful slaves

share your fortunes and your crust. Trust wife and children to the sure refuge and protection of God—preferring even for these loved ones the charnel house as a home, than loathsome vassalage to a nation already sunk below the contempt of the civilized world. This may be your terrible choice, and determine at once, and without dissent, as honor and patriotism and duty to God require.

Fellow-citizens: Lull not yourselves into a fatal security. Be prepared for every contingency. This is our only hope for a sure and honorable peace. If our enemy was to-day convinced that the feast herein indicated would welcome him in every quarter of the Confederacy, we know his base character well enough to feel assured he would never come. Let, then, the smoke of your homes, fired by women's hands, tell the approaching foe, that over sword and bayonet they will rush only to fire and ruin.

We have faith in God and faith in you. He is blind to every indication of Providence, who has not seen an Almighty hand controlling the events of the past year. The wind—the wave—the cloud—the mist—the sunshine and the storm, have all ministered to our necessities, and frequently succored us in our distresses. We deem it unnecessary to recount the numerous instances which have called forth our gratitude. We would join you in thanksgiving and praise. 'If God be for us, who can be against us?'

Nor would we condemn your confident look to our armies, when they can meet with a foe not too greatly their superior in numbers. The year past tells a story of heroism and success, of which our nation will never be ashamed. These considerations, however, should only stimulate us to greater deeds and nobler efforts. An occasional reverse we must expect—such as has depressed us within the last few days. This is only temporary.

We have no fears of the result—the final issue. You and we may have to sacrifice our lives and fortunes in the holy cause—but our honor will be saved untarnished, and our children's children will rise up to call us 'blessed.' "

Speaking of the war finances of the Yankee government, Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, said, the government had authorized a loan of \$250,000,000, of which \$150,000,000 were taken at from 4 to 7½ per cent. and \$50,000,000 were used in demand notes, payable in coin. Before the banks had paid the last of their loan of \$50,000,000, they broke down under it and suspended specie payments. The remaining \$50,000,000 of the loan it has proved impossible to negotiate.

Thus have the Yankees exhausted themselves in the matter of loans. What is now their resort? We shall follow Mr. Stevens, who sees no relief to the government except by violating the constitution in making treasury notes a *legal tender*. He says:

"The daily expenses of the government are now about 2,000,000. To carry us on till the next meeting of Congress, would take 600,000,000 more, making, before legislation could be had, about 700,000,000 to be provided.

The grand question is, how can this large amount be raised? The Secretary of the Treasury has used his best efforts to negotiate a loan of about 50,000,000, and has failed. Several modes of relief have been suggested. The most obvious is to borrow on government bonds bearing an interest of six per cent., which it is known can only be effected by putting the bonds into the market to the highest bidder. If but a small sum were wanted it might probably be had at a small discount, but if sufficient to meet our wants up to next December, 700,000,000, were forced into the market as it is wanted, I have no doubt they would sell as low as sixty per cent. as in the last war. And even then it would be found impossible to find payment in coin. A large part of it must be accepted in the depreciated notes of nonspecie-paying banks; for I suppose no one expects the resumption of specie payment until the war shall be ended. But as this Congress must provide for appropriations to the end of the fiscal year 1863, seven months more must be added to these expenses. That would require 420,000,000, added to the 700,000,000 before estimated, and the aggregate would be 1,100,000,000. The discount on that sum, at forty per cent. would be 440,000,000. At the minimum discount that any reasonable man could fix, say twenty-five per cent. it would be

275,000,000. It would, therefore, require at least bonds to the amount of 1,350,000,000 to produce sufficient currency to make 1,100,000,000 and carry us to the end of the next fiscal year.

This sum is too frightful to be tolerated."

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN THE CONFEDERACY.—We are indebted to the Richmond Examiner for the following, which forms an interesting *addendum* to the paper published by us last fall, by a citizen of Virginia, upon the commercial enfranchisement of the South:

"Whose is this image and superscription?"

"The answer to this question settled the nationality of the place at which the interrogatory was put; the piece of money, the coin of the country, had upon it the image of Cæsar; it was the current coin, the money of Syria, and it was the evidence of the government to which they should pay tribute—a simpler elucidation could not have been found. It settled the question of their obedience, their subjugation, and of their duty to obey their sovereign's demand. This fact announces, in plain terms, that every nation should indicate its existence by its own coins. Have we any? The Confederate States have no coins. There is no legal unit (for a dollar) of the Confederate States. A five franc piece, by the Act of March 9th, 1861, is declared to be worth ninety-five cents, and a Mexican and United States dollar to be worth one hundred and two cents. On the 9th of March, 1861, a law was passed requiring that suitable dies should be prepared for the coins of the Confederate States, but nothing has been, as yet, done upon the subject. The relative value which gold and silver bear to each other, as well as what ought to be their relations in our circulating medium, are to be declared. By the Act of 1837, the United States government made the value of gold to be sixteen to one; it had been fifteen to one by the Act of 1793. The alloy is inexact in the coins of Great Britain and the United States, and, indeed, of all nations except the French. The sovereigns of Great Britain are finer than the French Napoleons; the Mexican and United States silver dollars are finer than the French five franc pieces. The object of all alloy, that is, durability as well as exactness, is secured better by the policy of the French government, by making their coins out of a mixture—one-tenth

of which is of an inferior metal, copper, with their gold or silver coins, and in the copper coins ninety-five copper, four of tin, and one of zinc. The real value of a kilogramme of gold is thirty-one hundred francs; in silver two hundred francs; in copper ten francs. A centime, in copper, weighs one gramme; a franc, silver, five grammes; twenty centimes, silver, one gramme. The franc, their unit, may be very easily converted into a standard of either a weight or a measure, as it is 23-1,000 of a metre across its face, and is just 1,200 parts of a kilogramme, the commercial unit of weight. The questions which might arise with a nation respecting any change in their coins ought not to be considered with us, as we begin our existence, and ought to seek the true standard and adopt it. If we make silver our unit in our coins, then we should find the simplest weight and make the coin to contain a decimal of the mixture, which itself should possess decimal proportions of alloy and pure silver. The same course should be pursued if we take gold. The names to be applied to these coins should be expressive of the nation. We have the words Confederate, state, county, which could be easily used without any violence to the customs of our people. The questions once settled as to the unit, the names are simple, and the decimal being the divisions, of course custom would soon regulate the balance. One thing is, however, certain, that nothing can reconcile the people to any other than a decimal system in their currency; and if any argument were needed in favor of a decimal system of weights and measures, this very fact that, after a trial of the principle in the currency, the experience of the whole population approves of it entirely, would answer every objection against the adoption of a decimal system in our weights and measures.

Moses said, 'Do not any unjust thing in judgment, in rule, in weight, or in measure; let the balance be just and the weights equal; the bushel just, and the sextary equal.' The impossibility of being exact in our weights and measures, with our present system, will be made apparent by the statement of a few facts: A grain of wheat taken from the middle of the ear, well dried, is the standard which starts the pound troy, as follows: 24 grains a pennyweight (an old silver coin of Great Britain being of that weight), 20 pennyweights an ounce, and 12 ounces a pound. In avoirdupois weight there is no starting-point, except that, by an Act of Parliament, 16 grains make one scruple and 3 scruples a drachm, 16 drachms

an ounce, and 16 ounces a pound, in the same natural object. In apothecaries' weight we have a long string of names suitable for doctors and quacks to call over or write out for the apothecary, but there is no meaning to any of these several words out of the pursuits to which they relate. A grocer is, by his profession, a stranger to the weights of the apothecary, and the silversmith would do a poor business if he adopted the weights of the grocer or the apothecary, as he must use troy weight or diamond weight; but yet we teach our children all of these tables, and they are all in use amongst our people without any advantage, but very great trouble, and not unfrequently with blunders and mistakes, and never with positive exactness. Since twenty grains of one field and one variety of wheat will weigh very differently from another twenty grains from another field, and as we are seeking exactness, and as the foundation of the whole system is variable, we should abandon the system as worthless and look for another.

Our measures are equally as objectionable, as a few facts will demonstrate. We have, as the starting-point, or the unit, the inch, defined thus: three barley-corns make an inch, twelve inches a foot, three feet a yard, etc. In many portions of the Confederate States, barley is not known. It being one of the staple productions of England, however, she might apologize for making such an object the basis of her long measures, but for us it has no claims of this kind. In measuring grain, or to speak as the merchants now speak, by dry measure, we have a bushel in name, but the thing used is a half bushel, with but few exceptions. Ten pounds of distilled water is a gallon, and eighty pounds of distilled water is a bushel—this measure is, of course, dependent upon the wheat grain, and that being variable, the standard which we have derived and is in use must be defective. Our liquid measures are divided and subdivided so singularly as to require familiarity, in absolute use, to make us recollect them. Four gills a pint, two pints a quart, four quarts a gallon, etc. Cubic measure is a real difficulty; let us state it: 1,720 inches a foot, 27 feet a yard, 12 cubic feet a ton of shipping, etc. Our square measures are, of course, bottomed upon the divisions of inches, feet, yards, etc. An acre is a quantity of land in which there are 4,840 yards square, or 160 square rods or perches, and which it takes a surveyor to ascertain with certainty. So difficult and treacherous are all our weights and measures that, in almost every article of building, and for

every piece of work done by house carpenters or railway builders, or land sold, the sworn professional weigher, measurer or surveyor is essential before the simplest settlement can be made between neighbor and neighbor. We have in each state a page or two, and in some, doubtless, more, of laws upon the subject of weights and measures, all of which are bottomed upon a standard derived from the United States, and they obtained their standard from England, and she had hers from the sources already alluded to.

Now, is there any real, unchangeable, fixed and exact standard existing in nature capable of being used instead of those we now have? If so, the simplest understanding must determine in favor of its adoption. The fact that the earth has been already measured, and that its proportions are definitely ascertained and applied to weights, measures and coins, furnishing every required advantage, has been announced by the highest scientific authority in the world—the French Academy of Science. A history of the facts connected with the affair is of the highest importance, and, with such materials as are at command, we may gather all of the imposing results of this interesting application of science to the commerce of the world. In 1790, Talleyrand obtained from the Constituent Assembly, of which he was a member, an order that the Academy of Sciences should found a metrical system based upon nature and suitable for acceptance by all nations. The academy fixed the unit at the ten millionth part of the terrestrial meridian—a measurement having been made by Sacaille, in Peru; but another line was measured, passing through France, extending from Dunkirk to Barcelona, and, afterward, northward through England and Scotland—and from the Isle of Wight southward, through Spain, to the Island of Formentera. This giant achievement, during the throes of revolution, was participated in by other nations at the invitation of the provisional government. This commission was composed of the following persons: Berthola, Borda, Brisson, Laplace, Lefevre-Gineau, Legendre, Meham, Monque, Prony and Vandermonde, members of the Institute of France; Aenæ and Van Swiriden, sent by the Republic of the Netherlands; De Balbo, by Sardinia; Bugge, by Denmark; Ciscar and Pedrayes, by Spain; Fabbroni, by Tuscany; Franchini, by the Roman republic; Mascheroni, by the Cis-Alpine republic; Mulledo, by the Laguyrian republic; Tralles, by the Swiss confed-

eration; Vassalli, by Piedmont; Lenoir, a French artist, who executed the metre and apparatus relative to it; and Fontiâ, also a French artist, author of proto-gramme and its apparatus. Jillet Lavoisier and Gen. Meunier took an active part for only a short period, unfortunately. This committee, after suitable verification, reported the metrical system of measures, and the weights were deduced from the metre with the new coins, constituting five units, as follows:

A metre—1-10,000,000 of the distance from the equator to the pole.

An are—100 square metres.

A sterb—1 cubic metre.

A gramme—1-100 of a metre of water, the unit of weight.

A litre—1-10 of a meter square.

These names are very simple, and are invariable, and one reveals the other. The coins are of different weights, and measure certain proportions of a metre, as has been stated before. Now, the question arises, can we in the Confederate States adopt a metrical decimal system in lieu of the one which the Yankees use? The great change wrought in our currency was Mr. Jefferson's work, by which a decimal currency was substituted in the place of our confused pounds, shillings and pence. May we not, with perfect propriety, carry into our weights and measures the very same principle which we have so much reason to see is the simplest and the best in our currency. The names of the new weights and measures, as well as our coins, may need some very immaterial changes, and the revolution in our whole social and commercial and literary existence becomes as great as that in our political relations has been. Why may not the congress, now in session, pass a resolution authorizing the president to appoint a committee of one or two gentlemen, of known intelligence, from each state, to prepare a system, embracing the decimal metrical principles, and dissolving our language in commercial intercourse from the Yankee language, because it is a better one and a purer tongue. Let us of the Confederate States adopt it, drawing from the earth on which we tread the system by which we will buy or sell, and teaching, in every business transaction, by the image and superscription on the coin we may use, that we are a race of men affirming our nationality, and in our weights and measures declaring that we obey the great Jewish Lawgiver—the balance being just, the weights equal, the bushel just, and the sextary equal.

The Preparation of War Material.

COLUMBIA, February 15, 1862.

To the Editor of the Charleston Mercury:

It is necessary that we should, as promptly as possible, develop all the resources within our reach, and rely, as far as practicable, on ourselves for our security and defence. Among the immediate and pressing wants which a people engaged in war constantly experience, is the rapid and abundant and unfailing supply of all the materials of war. All of these are within our reach and among ourselves, and with the application of a little energy and intelligence, can readily be put at our command. I write this communication with the view of exciting into full play the energy and intelligence which abounds in the state. On the subject of nitre, I ask especially the aid of the professors of the South Carolina College and that of the chemists of Charleston. If we can obtain an abundant supply from the cellars and sinks of the burnt district, our heavy loss will not leave us without some small compensation. The sulphur and the willow coal can be easily obtained, and if we can procure nitre, we will soon be independent of foreign or Confederate action for our supply of powder.

A friend has, at my request, prepared a short paper which sets forth some of the resources at our command, and the easiest mode of developing them. I request you to publish that paper, which I send you, in conjunction with this. As soon as the practicability of the scheme is demonstrated, I will advertise for contracts to supply these materials.

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES CHESNUT, Jr.,
Chief of Department of the Military.

Sulphur.—This can be obtained from iron pyrites and copper pyrites by roasting.

Every hundred pounds of iron pyrites will yield, by the simplest process of

roasting, from twelve to fifteen pounds of sulphur (crude).

Process.—Have a series of conical clay pipes capable of containing from fifty to one hundred pounds of broken ore each. Place them in an inclined position, having the smaller ends projecting into a trough of water, and apply fire beneath. The sulphur will pass over in vapor into the water, and then condense in the form of crude sulphur. The tubes could be arranged over a flue, like the flue of a brick-kiln. You cannot by this process get out more than a quarter of the sulphur from the ore—for if you heat it above redness, the ore will melt, and this will involve the necessity of having new pipes each time. But this one-quarter of the sulphur is equal to about twelve or fifteen pounds for iron pyrites, and about the same for copper pyrites, which always contain large quantities of iron pyrites.

A rougher process would yield well, viz: Have a square brick hearth—pile up billets of wood, and then pile the broken ore on it in pyramidal form, cover it with earth, leaving a tube at top for the vapor to pass over into some receptacle filled with water—then burn the wood, setting the ore on fire. By a more refined process, one hundred tons of copper pyrites has been made to yield thirty tons of sulphur and two tons of copper. But this involved the use of sixty tons of coal in order that the vapor (sulphurous acid) which we lose by the rougher process may be passed over the flame of the coal and be converted back into sulphur, to be collected into other condensers—(the sixty tons coal was not additional, but was all used in the heating, and the subsequent process). This process paid the manufacturer \$1,000 nett for the one hundred tons, after deducting all expenses. This more refined method might be instituted in the immediate vicinity of the North Carolina coal mines. But we must rely on the simpler processes.

Of course, the crude sulphur must be refined by a second process in all cases, which will involve, however, very slight additional expense.

Localities of Pyrites.—On examination of Tuomey's and Lieber's reports on the Geology of South Carolina, we find the following mines (worked for other purposes) rich in iron or copper pyrites: Wilson mine, seven miles northeast of Yorkville, Lieber; Hagin mine, in Lancaster district, Lieber; Massy Copper mine, five miles from Yorkville, Lieber; Cowpen's Furnace, in Spartanburg district, Tuomey; Hale's mine, in Lancaster district, Lieber (very abundant),

Tuomey. And I have no doubt there are many other places not mentioned by these gentlemen, as an iron pyrite is of so frequent occurrence as to be overlooked in geological reports.

I may state, in conclusion, that the roasted iron pyrites, after we have gotten out all the available sulphur, is easily converted by the action of air into green vitriol, which is used in the manufacture of sulphuric acid. Now, we cannot get nitric acid without using sulphuric to separate it from saltpetre, or its other salts. And nitric acid is used very extensively in the Ordnance Department in the manufacture of percussion-caps, etc. Nor are the many other uses of sulphuric acid at a time like this to be overlooked.

Saltpetre.—The caves in Alabama and Tennessee may yield a considerable amount. But I would predict that they will not yield enough for the war purposes of the South. The chief sources of earth-containing nitrates are in tropical climates, though considerable amounts have been found in the Temperate zone; still, it would seem our climate is not so well adapted to its natural production. The process of saltpetre plantations is slow and troublesome, but they may become a necessity.

Process.—On a clay floor place a layer of loose earth, some four or five inches thick; then on this rank weeds, mushrooms, pea-straw, fodder; then solid animal refuse, mud from streets and stagnant pools, dung, etc., to a height of some feet, and then a layer of loose earth; water this constantly with urine and water from cess-pools. Then, at the end of twelve months or more, stop the application of liquids for a short interval, and the upper layers will be found impregnated with saltpetre and other nitrates. By this process, the dung of twenty-five cattle produced, in four years, one thousand pounds of saltpetre (or rather the process was alternate layers of dung and earth about four inches thick, and the whole watered with the urine or liquid manure). The same heap will continue to yield for ten years, by replacing the earth taken from the top layers, by first material. I forgot to say that this heap of earth and refuse should be protected from sun and rain by a shed. The earth impregnated thus with nitrates must be treated in a common hopper, as we treat ashes to make lye. The lye obtained must have the lye of ashes added to it to convert all the nitrates into saltpetre; then boil down, and we get the crystal of crude saltpetre.

It seems that, perhaps, so long a process is little applicable to our present

necessities. But a notice a year ago that a proportion of the war tax would be received in saltpetre would have helped the planter and the government. Then, again, by looking at the process, we must see that we have been making a great deal of saltpetre without knowing it, and the soil of stable floors and corn sheds of long standing might well repay an examination. The cities, with their necessary filth, must produce the nitrates in considerable quantities, and the scrapings of the floors and cellars in the burnt district of Charleston might be examined by the practical chemists of that city. They would no doubt find the earth impregnated to several inches with nitrates in many places, and this earth could be subjected to the lye process. The objection might be made that the yield would be small. But if gunpowder be a necessity, it is no time to ask whether a process for making it pays.

Refining.—The crude saltpetre has so many impurities, and these impurities so deleterious to the effectiveness and good keeping of the powder, that I would think it best to have the refining under government inspection, though the process is simple. And, again, although the eprouvette may show the force of the powder up to the standard, still the presence of these impurities in the saltpetre may cause it to spoil very easily by the absorption of moisture.

This information, and much more on the subject of saltpetre and sulphur, can be found in *Knapp's Technology and Gmelin's Hand-book of Chemistry*.

The Mason-Shidell Federal Diplomacy Burlesqued.

THE CHICKEN QUESTION.

The following excellent burlesque version of a celebrated piece of Yankee diplomacy, has been done into verse for the Charleston Courier by a gentleman who stands very high in the literary circles of the South (we attribute it to him), Wm. J. Grayson, Esq. It is worthy of a place in the records of the times, and will furnish not a little amusement to our posterity. Secretary Seward, Minister Adams and Commodore Wilkes have their appropriate places in the picture.

L.—Speak to Addums.—[Extract.]

CHICKEN DEPARTMENT.
Apland, December 30, 1861.

Friend Addums, I know you are part as a spoon.
And can bamboozle Bull, morning, evening and noon;

Go at it—for now, by the sharp Yankee tricks
Of a cute, dashing lad, we are all in a fix—
You know him: he went to some outlandish
 const,
Made a book that's as long as his voyage almost,
And lately he plundered Bull's coop, and took
 four
Of Cornfed's smart roosters, he found there, and
 swore
That but for the toting, his strength being
 small,
He'd have taken Bull's coop with his chickens
and all.
Now, if Bull makes a row, keep a bright, close
look-out.
It was not by our order the thing came about—
Whisper this in his ear, and just add, if you
 please,
That on all sides we're flogging young Cornfed
with ease;
It's a lie; but don't mind it, why should you, I
 pray,
When at home we are lying like thunder all
day?

Yours,

W. SNEAK.

II.—*Bull to Lyon.*

BULL PEN, November 30, 1861.

An impudent chap, in the service of Sneak,
Dared to stone and to plunder my coop, the last
week,
Of four, clever, good looking cocks that were
there,
By my youngest friend Cornfed, consigned to
my care.
Just get 'em—d'ye mind me—no humbug, no
law,
No rigmârole stories from Sneak about law;
Just send me the roosters, and if he's not civil
And humble, I'll blow all his coops to the devil;
Yes, damme, I'll lick him, as sure as a gun.
I've a strong mind to do it, whatever is done.
I am, etc.,

BULL.

III.—*Sneak to Lyon.*

CHICKEN DEPARTMENT,

Apeland, December 26, 1861.

My Lord! I have never seen letter so full
Of kindness, as that you have sent me from
Bull;
It is not only civil, but pointed and neat,
And belongs to the order we call short and
 sweet.
He says, but I need not repeat "doubtlessly,"
You know it as well, or yet better than I,
But I'll just run along with the contents in
part,
To try and find something to give me a start.
Tis a fact, the lads threw a few stones, I admit,
Do you think 'twas to hurt your nice coop, not
a bit;
'Twas no want of affection for you, but to show
They were sharp after Cornfed's game chickens
—you know

Game chickens are fighters, and, therefore, the
 rans

Are contraband—these are the "pints" in the
 case:

First, were the cocks game chickens? Sumner
 can tell.

I'll ask him the question, he knows the breed
 well;

But I think the lads ran little danger of blame,
For the whole of the chickens of Cornfed are
 game.

Second, mightn't a chap peep into coops, not in-
tending

To steal, or do damage, without its offending?

Of all men I know, you should think so I'm sure,

For you peep into every coop passing your door.

Third, when the boys peeped, was it done with
the art

And the science of one well informed in his part?

It was: every rule they were perfect in keeping.

As if, all their lives, they'd been sneaking and
 peeping;

The only mishap that befell in the case

Was, a pullet scratched one of the boys in the
 face.

Fourth, when the lads saw the game chicks,
were they right

To nab 'em—all hen-hussies say that they might.

Fifth, by all the laws that rule stealins and
 pickens,

Might they not have grabbed everything, feed,
coop and chickens?

Now, here's the rub, that's a fact, and I sorter

Think, sometimes, they ortent, and sometimes
they orter.

Besides, furthermore, "doubtlessly," 'tiant
clear,

So I'm worried and flurried—who says it is fear?
Who's afraid? but Bull talks in so civil a fash-
 ion.

When I really did think he would get in a pas-
 sion,

That I'm bound to return his politeness at least,
So take the four cocks, you will find them down
 East.

'Tisn't much that can be crowned by so paltry a
lot.

When Cornfed's whole poultry yard's going to
pot.

So, my Lord, I'm rejoiced to oblige you, and end,
My Lord, Mr. Bull's, and your servant and friend.

W. SNEAK.

IV.—*Lyon to Sneak.*

What fudge! but I've sent it all home, you may
 guess,

How nice a pot dish it will make for the press.

I take the four chickens, and when we next
 meet,

You may hear something from me concerning
your fleet,

Your hulks, bought by contract, and loaded
with stone.

A thing to all civilized nations unknown—

To barricade ports, and change lawful blockade
To a lawless destruction, forever, of trade—

Such a job, such a base, mean, detestable plan
Has never, till now, stained the annals of man.

LYON.

NEW ORLEANS, OPELOUSAS & GREAT WESTERN Railroad Company.

LAND DEPARTMENT.

NEW ORLEANS, June 1st, 1861.

THE NEW ORLEANS, OPELOUSAS AND GREAT WESTERN RAILROAD COMPANY, by and in virtue of an Act of the United States Congress of the 3d June, 1856, and of an Act of our State Legislature of the 11th March, 1857, have become the owners of 705,000 acres of Land, free from all incumbrances or mortgages.

These Lands are included within a strip of thirty miles in width, or fifteen miles on each side of the railway line, extending from Algiers, opposite New Orleans, to the Sabine river, or the eastern boundary of Texas—a distance of 258 miles. In the contemplated continuation of this road into Texas, it will traverse the most fertile grain region of that State.

The Lands lying opposite the first 125 miles of the Company's road, are in the rich and heavily timbered alluvial valley of the Mississippi river, on Bayou Lafourche, Grand lake, and elsewhere. Between the 125th and 190th miles, we have a very large amount of fertile and valuable Lands in the Attakapas prairies—a region nowhere excelled for beauty, healthfulness and fertility of soil.

Between the 190th mile and the Sabine river, the road traverses the moderately hilly and heavily timbered pine woodlands, varied occasionally by the rich vallies of the streams. Good water, game, and clear-water brooks abounding in fish, are common to this entire locality. The pine woods, in quantity and quality, are unsurpassed; and it is believed that the Lands will raise cotton profitably.

Maps and plats can be seen and examined, all information as to the character and price of land obtained, applications made, and terms of sale finally agreed upon, at the Office of the Company's Land Agent, at Brashear city, Parish of St. Mary, La.

Acts of sale to be passed in New Orleans, at the expense of the purchaser.

In the absence of the purchaser, a written power of attorney, authorizing the agent to sign the Act, and the notes given in payment, and to grant a mortgage to secure the notes, will be required.

The terms of sale are: One-third cash; remainder in notes at one and two years, payable at a bank in New Orleans, with eight per cent. per annum interest after maturity, with mortgage until final payment; and in default, the purchaser to pay five per cent. for attorney's fees.

The Company's Lands are now being examined. As fast as reports are made, the price per acre will be fixed on each tract applied for, and the applicant duly notified of the same; and he will be required to accept the land, at the price designated, within a reasonable time, or, in default, the land will be offered for sale to others. The Company reserves to itself the right of changing the prices and terms from time to time.

The Company desire to encourage actual settlers, and will grant priority of application to persons who are now in actual occupation and cultivation of land; but only a reasonable time will be granted them to apply for and purchase, after which it will be sold to any other applicant.

WILLIAM G. HEWES, President.

G. W. R. BAYLEY, Land Agent.

Jan. 1yr

LOUISIANA LANDS.

LAND DEPARTMENT, VICKSBURG, SHREVEPORT AND TEXAS RAILROAD.

The Government titles have been received for 350,000 Acres of Land, which enure to this Company under the Act of Congress granting Lands to the State of Louisiana, to aid in the Construction of Railroads, approved 3d June, 1856. These Lands lie in alternate sections along on either side of the Railroad, none of them being more than fifteen miles from it, reaching nearly across the State from east to west, in the heart of the Cotton zone. A portion of them are Alluvial Lands, lying east of the Ouachita river, and are among the finest Cotton Lands in the world. Those in the vicinity of Bayou Macon, on the west bank, known as the "Bayou Macon Hill Lands," are entirely above overflow, lie well, have a good foundation, and may be relied on for something like a Bale of Cotton per Acre. They are rapidly appreciating, and planters are beginning to prefer them to the Swamp Lands, which require the protection of levees. West of the Ouachita is a pleasant country to live in, well watered and healthy, where the Lands grow Wheat and other Grains well, and produce a better yield of Cotton than most of the high Lands in the older Cotton-growing States.

These Lands are now offered for sale, at prices ranging from \$5 to \$20 per Acre, according to quality and location, upon terms of payment to suit purchasers. The Lands are mortgaged to secure the payment of the bonds issued by the Company. When sold for cash, the mortgage will be cancelled, and a clear title given. When sold on credit, a payment of at least one-fourth part of the purchase money will be required at the time of sale, and, for the residue, the purchaser's notes will be taken, running one, two and three years, bearing eight per cent. interest from date, secured by a special mortgage in the act of sale, binding the purchaser also to pay five per cent. attorney's fees, in the event it shall be necessary to sue on the notes. When the last payment is made, the Company's bond mortgage will be cancelled, as in the case of a cash sale.

The sales will be made here at the Company's Office, in Monroe, and the title passed before a Notary Public, at the expense of the purchaser; to which will be added one dollar to pay for cancelling the mortgage; and in case of a credit sale, outside of the parish of Ouachita, two dollars, to pay for recording the mortgage in the parish in which the land is situated.

If the purchaser cannot be present in person to accept the title, it will be sufficient, in case of a cash sale, for him to write a letter to some friend who may be present, requesting him to pay the money, and receive the title. But, in case the purchaser wants a credit on the land, he must be more particular, and give his agent a regular power of attorney, before a Notary Public, authorizing him to purchase and accept the title of the Land, which must be described, and the price specified, to make the cash payment, sign the notes, and execute the mortgage to secure their payment.

Agents are employed examining the Lands, and as fast as their returns are made, the price is set on every tract which has been applied for, and communicated to the applicant, and a reasonable time is given for his acceptance. But hereafter, when application shall be made for Lands which shall have been examined, the price and terms will be stated for that day, and the Land will not be suspended for the benefit of applicants, but we shall be free to vary the price or terms, or sell to others who may desire to purchase.

By the terms of the grant, the Company's title is perfected 20 miles in advance of every section of 20 miles of finished road; and ten years were given to complete the road. The title of the Company is thus, now, perfected to the Land opposite to 40 miles of the road; and another section of 20 miles will soon be added. A failure to complete the road within the time cannot affect the title of the Lands sold by the Company, which, at the expiration of the time, namely, on the 3d day of June, 1866, shall be opposite to any portion of finished road, or opposite to a point 20 miles in advance of the finished road counting as before, in sections of 20 miles.

Monroe, Louisiana.

C. G. YOUNG, President.
mar-1yr

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GEO. H. ROZET, Secretary.

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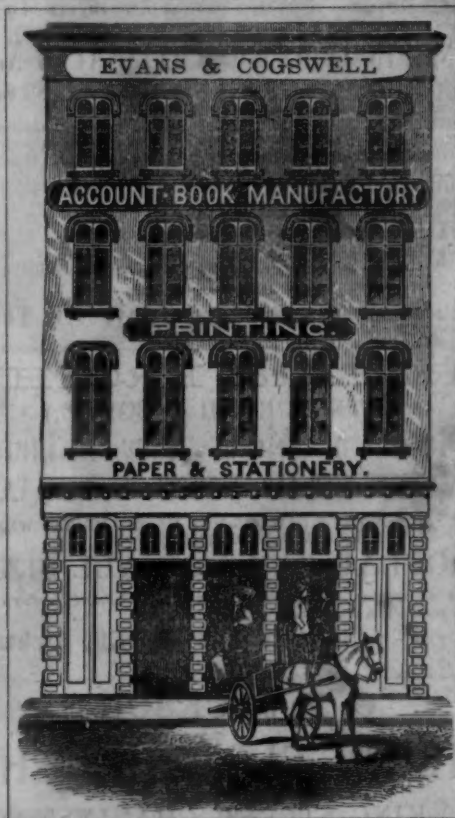
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